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MEMORIES

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MY MOTHER, AGED 87.

Frontispiece.]

MEMORIES

BY

THE ARCHBISHOP OF WALES

Alfred Geo. Edwards 1848-

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MEMORIES

CHAPTER I

HOME, PARISH AND PEOPLE

WHY burden the world with yet another volume of reminiscences ? This is the justification. Wales is small, but the happenings in Wales have been great. It has fallen to the Church in Wales to be the first part of the Church in Great Britain to be severed from the State. That severance touches, if it does not tamper with, foundations. It took the British Parliament half a century to ponder over before it passed the disuniting measure. The birth and the growth of the movement that brought about the change are not significant merely in an insignificant country, but are written for the learning of the whole Church to-day. To one believing this, it is a labour of duty to tell the world how it came to pass that the most ancient people and the most ancient Christian Church in this island underwent so profound a change in character.

The Church in Wales, catholic and organised three centuries before Augustine came, represents in unbroken continuity the Church which was driven by the heathen Saxon to seek safety in the fastnesses of the Welsh mountains. Older by centuries than the Throne or Parliament of

England, the British Church may well allow the story of its disestablishment to be put on record. That story shall be told not in general statements, however well considered, or in generalisations, however well tested, but in particulars and details that the reader, if he so wills, can verify for himself. All these things have been painfully collected and classified after a sustained and minute investigation of all available records, and from the testimony of witnesses whose information was first-hand. This part of the evidence must of necessity be sometimes personal, sometimes autobiographical. It may be contended that the events thus recorded were seen through the parsonage window, at any rate the parsonages were many and different, and so were the witnesses. Of some of those witnesses a brief but sufficient account can be given, and thus the reader may form some estimate of the value of their evidence and experience.

My grandfather, born in 1760, was a devout and earnest man, much interested in and moved by the revival then within the Church. He brought up three sons to the ministry of the Church in Wales, where they were all beneficed. The younger brother deserved and possessed the reputation of an orator.

My mother, Sarah Wood, was entirely English. She was kin to the Woods of Brockrupp, Gloucestershire, of whom Richard Wood was Lord of the Manor in 1608. Some of her kindred were eminent in the Law and the Church.

Her family, his nearest in kin, were left out of his will by "Jemmy" Wood the Gloucester

banker, who took offence at a rebuke, rightly administered, by one of the family. My mother was a woman of strong and lovable charactor. Amid the anxieties of a large family and narrow means, she never lost courage, or her love of literature, music, and flowers—a love which she retained with unimpaired faculties until her death in her 90th year.

My father and mother had been nurtured in homes where faith ruled. At no time in forty years of wedded life did their income exceed £400 a year. They brought up their seven children in a home never rich but always refined and educated, and in an atmosphere of firm discipline and yet of surpassing tenderness and self-sacrifice.

Their five sons gained scholarships at Oxford, and all returned to be ordained and to serve in the Church in Wales. Two worked in the Diocese of St. David's, and one in each of the other three dioceses. Beginning with my grandfather, who died in 1853, the knowledge and experience from which my information has been harvested covers about 150 years.

Ordained in 1825, my father worked for nearly half a century in the Diocese of St. Asaph. He was appointed curate-in-charge in 1828 of Llanwyddelan, a wild parish spreading over 4,000 acres of the Montgomeryshire mountains. There was neither school, hamlet, nor village—only some eighty houses or cottages sparsely scattered among the hills. Of the 500 people in the parish few knew English, and the great majority were poor. The church itself reached back to pre-Norman times. "In the wars that

raged in 1461" it was well-nigh ruined. Built and rebuilt it was the target for all the wild storms that swept over the mountains. The rector of the parish—he had been rector for forty years—held two other benefices, each miles distant from Llanwyddelan. He himself elected to reside at Bettws-y-Coed, at that time a two-days' journey from Llanwyddelan. My father's stipend as curate-in-charge was £70 a year and a residence. This was much above the average stipend paid to curates in those days.

In less than six years my father was appointed by the Bishop of St. Asaph to the Rectory of Llanymawddwy. The place and all about it are "out of the common passage, and have a strain of rareness." Llanymawddwy was a Welsh mountain parish; the people were all Welsh; there was no resident squire. The vicarage was a ruined cottage. My father resided in the small manor house where I was born. The history of Llanymawddwy—people, church, rectors—illustrates with accuracy and vividness the religious movements in the Church in Wales in the critical years between 1770 and 1830.

If the reader will glance at a map of mid-Wales, and in imagination join me in a walking tour from the Dovey to the Dee, he will gain a clear idea of the Vale of the Mawddwy. The Cambrian Railway sets us down at Cemmaes Road Station. Thence, striking northwards and leaving the rich and spreading meadows of the lower Dovey, we journey along a gently ascending road, and after a few miles enter the Vale of the Mawddwy. Another glance at the map shows that the valley

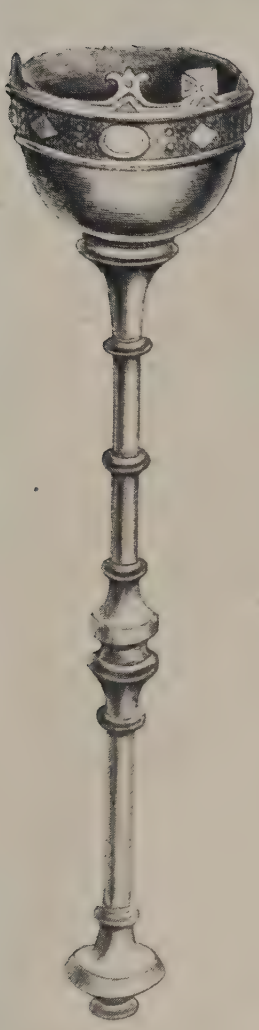
running north and south has two entrances. We have just reached a platform on the shelf of a rock beneath Moel Dinas—1,538 feet—which forms the southern entrance to the valley. Dinas —"fortress, town or city"—is the watch-tower for the neighbouring country and a protecting citadel to the valley. Hence its name Dinas Mawddwy. One long and broad street of squalid houses and hovels makes up Dinas Mawddwy.

Contempt vanishes when you remember that this poor Dinas was for centuries the capital of an ancient and widely extending lordship—one of the five lordships in Wales which were independent manors and exempted from tribute to the Prince. There was the over-lord with powers of life and death, and under him the mayor and corporation of the Dinas. Annually the mayor was invested with the insignia of his office —the standard measure, the mace, and the feg-fawr (the great fetter)—and within later times evil doers of Dinas were restrained by the spectacle of the whipping post and the stocks. It may well be that the dense and far-spread Black Forest (Dugoed) and the mountain fastnesses were a sanctuary or a haunt. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century travellers trembled to pass through this district, infested as it was by gangs of robbers and murderers, recruited from time to time by outlaws flying from justice or by soldiers who had served in the wars. These people were known as the wild red men (Gwylliaid Cochion) of Mawddwy from the colour of their hair, or from their blood-stained hands.

In the sixteenth century a resolute attempt was

made to drive them out from their lairs in the mountains and Black Forest (Dugoed). In 1554 a number of these banditti were tried and executed. The judge, Baron Owen, although appealed to by his own son-in-law to save a youth named Jack Goch refused to do so. The mother of the youth cried out, "Save my boy, I love him." The boy was hung, and the mother appearing before the judge, baring her bosom, said, "I have nurtured other sons, they shall imbrue their hands in your blood." No empty threat! Within the year the judge and his retinue were ambushed, and all, save the son-in-law who had pleaded for the boy, fled. The judge was murdered with every mark of savagery. Stern measures followed, and the red rebels of Mawddwy were hunted out of their hiding places, but the taint of their crimes long clung to and blackened the character of the Mawddwy Vale.

Leaving the Dinas we enter the vale. The path turns sharply to the right down a steep hill and we cling closely to the River Dovey, now swollen by the Cowarch and the Clywedog. Among many rivals the Mawddwy Valley, lovely and well favoured, has a character and a charm all its own. It is so narrow as to afford in Pennant's phrase, "only here and there a meadow," and is really more glen than vale, beautiful in its situation and in the sculpture of its mountains. The traveller feels the spell of the loneness and the silence broken only by the babbling Dovey. After some six or seven miles the Aran and its vassal mountains close up the valley, suffering only one path of escape to the vale of the Dee



Mace, Dinas Mawddwy. The great fetter, Dinas Mawddwy.

DINAS INSIGNIA.

—named the Pass of the Cross (Bwlch-y-Groes), once "the most terrible in North Wales." Midway in the Mawddwy Valley stands the parish church; in olden days it was called "Y Llan Ym Mawddwy," that is the "temenos" (τέμενος), or sacred enclosure in Mawddwy. Legend and history have gathered thickly around it.

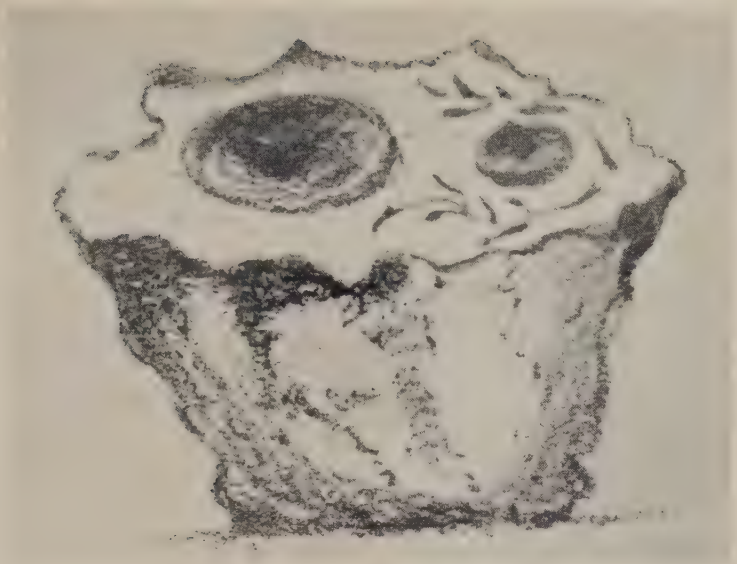
Tydecho, a saint from Brittany, sought after the manner of his time the solitude of this mountain valley. This and two other churches claim him as their founder, and were in keeping with the monastic origin of all the Welsh cathedrals and religious centres in the British Church. A life of Tydecho survives in the poem of a Welsh bard. One historical fact emerges. Tydecho and Maelgwn or Maglocunus, the ruling Welsh Prince of Gwynedd or North Wales, met in friendship and collision. Maglocunus, as Gildas describes him, was no myth or phantom. This "island dragon" (as the people called him) was a masterful chieftain, "more splendid in generosity, more steeped in sin" (largior in dando, profusior in peccato) than his fellows. After murder and rapine he ends his life in the seclusion of a monastic cell and Tydecho remains the guardian of the Vale of the Mawddwy. The peace and the nurture that he brought his people are treasured in a legend.

From the foot of the Aran that dominates the Mawddwy Vale issues a stream that gathers strength as it creeps for some miles through the peat and then falling in foam over a steep precipice begets the river Dovey. This stream Tydecho turned into milk, and the Welsh

still call it Llaethnant, or the milk-stream. The Welsh poet, Ap Vychan, as he watched the white torrent falling into the valley pictures all the cows of creation being milked at the foot of Aran. The lives of Welsh princes and Welsh monks, be it remembered, do not go by the almanack, but in this story there are some fixed points. Maelgwn died of the Yellow Plague in 547, and the *De Excidio Britanniæ* of Gildas must have been written before that date, and so we reach the historical fact that the church of Mawddwy was founded by Tydecho before the year 547. The church has marks of antiquity. The stone font dates from 1120–1200, and possibly took the place of the rude block font with two bowls cut out from the trunk or root of a tree, and found in a bog at Dinas Mawddwy.* On it were carved two olive branches, and the word "Athrywyn" "the reconciler" or "reconciliation" or "mediation."

Now we turn from history and tradition to the people of Llanymawddwy, as they were at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The area of this parish was 15,280 acres. The population, 702 in 1801, had fallen to 622 in 1841. This decline was due to trade depression after the war, to the bad seasons between 1831 and 1841, and partly to emigration, the labourers decreasing more than the farmers. In 1841 there were 137 inhabited and 17 uninhabited houses in the parish, while in 1851 the corresponding figures were 147 and 3. The average number to each inhabited house

* See Appendix.



WOODEN FONT.

Block Font, with two bowls, cut out from the trunk or root of a tree, and found in a bog at Dinas Mawddwy. On it are carved two olive-branches and the word "Athrywyn." It is preserved at Mostyn Hall, Flintshire.

THE STONE FONT.

was 4·6 for the whole county. To know and to understand the people themselves, the reader must know something about their homes, their food and clothing, their physique, their "daily round and common task," the farms they tilled and stocked, the industries they pursued, their relations with the trade and life of the outer world, their amusements and traditions, their education, their religious beliefs.

I begin with the homes of the people—the Government Report in 1810 stated that "Merionethshire is disgraced with a species of cottages which are truly the habitations of wretchedness." In Llanymawddwy and in many mountain parishes the dwellings, hut or cottage, of the people, can be studied chronologically. In North Wales frequently, and in Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire abundantly, are found relics of the earliest Celtic dwellings on the ridges and slopes of the mountains. These huts, round, and in Cornwall oval, are called in Wales Cytiau y Gwyddelod—that is, the huts or styes of the Gael or Goidel. Whether these huts are an evidence that in the third or fourth century Gael pirates from Ireland settled in North Wales or are mere relics of the Gaels who had been driven out by the Brythons is an interesting historical problem upon which the reader will find full information in *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, by Dr. Basil Jones, late Bishop of St. David's, and in *The History of Wales*, by Professor E. Lloyd.

Then came what the Welsh called Cabanau Crynion, or round huts or hovels. In a history of Penmachno the construction of these huts

is described and the interesting point is that they coincide in detail with the construction of the Lake Dwellings in the Glastonbury Lake Village (150 B.C.), where the huts were made by driving a ring of posts into the ground and by filling the intervals between them with wattle and daub. They varied in diameter from 20 to 36 feet, were about 7 feet high, and thatched with rushes, reeds, or ferns. In Glastonbury there were two or three better buildings, rectangular in shape. And so in Wales, the round hut or cottage, of which there are many examples left, was succeeded by a cottage rectangular in shape. The Llanymawddwy houses presented one distinctive feature. Before the end of the eighteenth century the roof of straw and rushes had almost disappeared, and the dwelling-houses in Llanymawddwy were roofed with slates from the quarries in the parish which had been worked for many years.

The parish registers from 1785–1814 show that "slater" was a common occupation—"slater" included the man who quarried as well as the man who laid the slates. The rectangular cottage consisted of a single room, at one end of which was the open chimney, and at the other a litter of rushes or straw upon which the family slept. In the better specimens of this type, the single room was made long enough to admit of a partition or curtain, and this superior dwelling was known as "Ty a shamber" (a house with a chamber). Outside one end of the cottages were stacked the gleanings of the year.

Next in the upward scale came the small farm-

house. Hutton, in his *North Wales Tour in* 1787, describes one of these dwellings at Dinas Mawddwy as composed of a few rough stones from the quarry, and consisting of three low rooms, one for the day, one for the night, which held their stock of beds, and one for the storeroom. In most of these small farm-houses, there was no back door, but in many there was at the end opposite to the chimney a door opening out of the dwelling house into the cow house, and above the cow house a loft reached by a ladder from the inside and this loft was the sleeping room for the family. In all these various types the floor was of mud or gravel. The eaves were low and the windows were very small and did not open. What light there was came down the chimney, which was large and open to the sky. In these chimneys many of the people placed at night scythes, their ends fast in the wall and the edge up, to protect themselves from the red banditti of Mawddwy. Fenton, in his tours, mentions a similar practice as existing in Carmarthenshire.

In Llanymawddwy there were four or five better farm-houses, containing a kitchen and small parlour with one or two bedrooms open to the slates or thatch. Second only to the hay and corn harvest was that of the peat, which was first stacked in the mountains and then brought down from the turbary in rough sleighs. Peat was the only fuel. It was burnt on the hearths—grates did not exist—in one dark smouldering pile, filling the room with an antiseptic smoke, not altogether unpleasant. Lucifer matches, invented in 1829, took ten years to reach Llanymawddwy, and to replace the

flint and tinder-box which were used to strike a light. Rush-lights served for candles. The rushes, gathered in summer, were pealed, a strip being left to support the pith. These rushes were dipped three times in a small pan (padell fach) containing hot mutton or bacon fat. They were then laid up for winter use. The rush-light holder was made of iron. It stood on three feet, was 16 inches high, and had a nozzle or nippers into which the rush light was put horizontally, and fixed with a spring. In some of the old arm-chairs there was a socket at the end of one arm for a rush light. These rushes gave a good light and a rush 2 feet 6 inches long would burn for an hour. One and a half pound of rushes was enough to supply a family for a year, and one rush would give a small family five and a half hours of comfortable light for one farthing.

Everything in and about the farm-house had an old-world look and charm. The furniture was in shape and material antique and ancestral. The two-pieced or three-pieced carved chest—every handle, hinge and joint made of oak, no nail in it or paint on it—was the family pride and safe. In modern times English dealers hunted for these oak chests in all the country villages in North Wales, once bought for less than an old song from the unwary owner. Then there was the round table, a settle on either side of the fire, the arm-chair for the husband, the three-legged stool for the stocking-knitter, the four-legged stool for the children. So, too, were the spoons and forks, the butter keg, the milk pail, the shallow vessels that served for milk pans

(mit llaeth), the jugs and ladles, the big hooped porridge bowl, and the small bowls or cups that the children used—all made of wood by the Dinas cooper. The oak doors swung on wooden hinges, closed on a wooden latch, and on the inside were made fast by a wooden shot-bolt. The farm implements, like the house furniture, were primitive—the old Welsh plough, the roller and the harrows, teeth and all made of oak, and so were the flail, the rake, the spade, the mattock.

The food of the people, farmer and labourer alike, was simple. Their bread was made of barley or oatmeal. The climate and the soil did not suit wheat. Half a pound of wheat—bought rarely at Dolgelley or Bala and only used to make gruel for the little children—cost 1*s.*, and half a peck of wheat 7*s.* 6*d.* Wheaten bread was too costly a luxury. When a boy, I heard a Welsh lecture in a Methodist Chapel given to an audience of working people, chiefly farmers and farm-servants, by a brilliant lecturer, Dr. Kilsby Jones. He finished his lecture on "Famous Welshmen" with this sentence, "Boys, if you want to succeed in the world, learn English. Remember, Welsh is a barley-bread language." Oatmeal, their main staff of life, was prepared in various ways. There was uwd made by letting the oatmeal boil slowly in water for several hours in a large pot (crochan) hooked on to a chain hanging from a cross-bar in the chimney; flavoured with salt it then formed a jelly, and was served with milk or butter-milk. The next dish in favour was llymry, a sort of oatmeal junket, prepared by adding warm water to finely

ground oatmeal, sharpened with sour buttermilk, and finally strained through a hair-sieve—the itinerant sieve-maker was a familiar figure—and boiled to a proper thickness. Oat cakes were served in many forms, the choicest being a thin oat cake, stone baked (fara llech); the stone was a family treasure. This stone cake was eaten with custard on the vigil of the Patronal Festival, and on the night before a funeral. In Tusser's husbandry, the wake-day in England was celebrated with cakes and custard. Geraldus mentions in his Welsh itinerary (1188) this thin bread cake, which was called in his day Lagana, which appeared later as a fritter or pan-cake. The farm-house meals were breakfast of llymry or uwd with hot milk or buttermilk. The midday meal consisted of broth or brewis in which slices of meat salted in the autumn had been boiled. Fresh meat was unknown, and bacon was not abundantly used. There was one other dish for which they had to thank the Dovey. This river abounded in salmon which the natives torch-lured and speared at night. Pickled and smoked in the broad open chimney the salmon formed a relish in many farm-houses and cottages.

Thereon hangs a tale. One Sunday afternoon my brother, a boy of twelve and a pupil of my father, on their way to the Sunday School, saw and joined a group of young men hurrying up the banks of the river which was in spate. A fine salmon had been seen pushing up the stream and was now in the big pool at the foot of the rectory garden. The two boys eagerly watched one attempt after another to spear the fish in

the thick water, all ending in failure, and when the chase was well-nigh given up, my brother borrowed from a farmer's son his spear, shot it at random, and struck the big fish. The two boys dragged it up to the rectory stable, hid it in one of the mangers and covered it with straw. They then sought the Sunday School and awaited developments. My father, returning betimes from a mission service in the mountains, when putting up his horse in the stable accidentally discovered the hidden treasure in the manger. Inquiry followed. Sixty years afterwards my brother's friend gave me a touching description of the chastening discipline which concluded the episode.

The beverage used in farm and cottage was butter-milk or home-brewed beer (diod fain). Tea was little known and rarely sold in the village shop or at Dinas until 1840. In 1816 tea cost 1*s.* 6*d.* an ounce. Even now coffee, if known, is rarely used in farm or cottage.

The clothing of the people was made of wool. Hutton in his *Tour in Wales*, 1777, describes the women as wearing a short petticoat and a long blue cloak of linsey and a beaver hat with a high crown and a cap or frill underneath. Bingley, *Welsh Excursions*, 1798, says that the women wore long cloaks down to their feet, and blue stockings without any feet, kept down by a loop on one of the toes. The men on Sundays wore linsey waistcoats, knee breeches and gaiters, and low beaver hats. The women and children were as a rule barefooted. When they went to church, market, or fairs they wore shoes which they carried in their hands until near their destination. The

young boys, like the girls, wore petticoats, and trousers did not come into vogue until about 1812.

The people, men and women, were no idlers. They depended for their livelihood upon their live-stock and their woollen industry. The women have been described as everlasting knitters of stockings; sitting, standing, or walking, the knitting needle was in motion. A tourist, in 1810, said of the North Wales country parishes: "There is not an idle female in the place, nay, I have seen them employed while riding, but as the pins and the bridle demanded three hands, and they could muster but two, the horse was left to take his own course, which he seemed to understand as well as the rider." Nearly every farm-house had a loom, often kept in a lean-to building, and the weaving was done by the men. The wool was carded with hand-cards and spun by the spinning wheels, worked by women. Farm and cottage were alive on winter evenings with the sound of the loom, the spinning wheel, and the hatchell-comb (crib heisyllt). The product of this labour was for home consumption and for the market. Every farm-house had its rolls of cloth (corn frethyn), and of kersey-woven flax and wool. The flannel was coloured with gathered lichen at the little factory, Pandy. The old tailor at Dinas was sent for when new garments were wanted for any of the family. He charged 3*s.* for making a suit of the coarser cloth. In the farm-houses enough of the best cloth was always reserved for making the wedding suit for the eldest son. These home-made clothes lasted a lifetime.

Farm and cottage made for the general market three kinds of woollen goods, viz. flannels, webs, stockings. Flannels were manufactured at home, and bleached in a primitive and unsavoury manner. The web, which was a special product of the Vale of the Dovey, was a coarse woollen cloth made in pieces of 80 to 90 yards. To Shrewsbury alone 70,000 yards of these Welsh webs were brought every year. Stockings and socks formed a large part of the woollen manufactures in the Vale of the Dovey. Stockings made of the finest wool sold for £6 6*s.* a dozen, and an average price was 6*s.* a pair. One of the woollen merchants (1820–1840) who bought the webs made at Llanymawddwy said his profits came to £20 a month, and that Dinas Mawddwy woollen goods went to America. The value of the stockings sold in Bala market was put at £20,000 a year. This was a part of the woollen industry in which every housewife was engaged. The arm-chair, as we have seen, in the farm-house had a socket at the end of each arm for the rush-light. The cottager was able without the cost of this candle to knit the coarser sort of wool by the light the peat fire gave. The whole of this woollen produce went to the summer and autumn fairs at Dinas, Welshpool, and Bala, or to Shrewsbury. The skins of the animals they salted in the autumn were sent to the tanyard at Dinas, where they were first dipped in large wells or tanks filled with water and lime by which process the wool came off at once. They were next soaked in a liquid containing tannic acid, obtained from oak-bark, and sent from the tanner

to the currier to be dressed. Enough of this prepared leather was kept for making shoes for the whole family. The shoemaker, like the tailor, was itinerant, going from house to house, and was sent for when the leather was ready.

The isolation of these mountain parishes, the result of impassable roads and impossible transport, are almost inconceivable now. Only in 1815 did the Government, stung into action by Ireland and by all who had business there, adopt Telford's Report and set about improving under his guidance the London to Holyhead Road. They began with the worst bit of that road, the section from Shrewsbury to Holyhead. The Government Commission (1810) described "many parts of that road as extremely dangerous for a coach to travel upon." Dean Swift and Arthur Young testify from experience to the "horrors of the roads" in Wales. As a matter of fact, up to the middle of the eighteenth century Chester was the terminus for "wheeled conveyance." Lord Clarendon, Viceroy of Ireland in 1685, adventured to travel in his coach from Chester to Holyhead. It took him five hours to travel the fourteen miles from St. Asaph to Conway whence he had to walk to Bangor, while sturdy Welsh rustics carried Lady Clarendon in a litter. One hundred years later (1787) some wealthy persons starting from London in a coach and four with five outriders reached Holyhead in four days at a cost of £77.

Harper in his *Holyhead Road* relates how Sir Watkin Wynn, at the close of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth century, conveyed his rents to London. First of all, the "fourgon,"

as he styled his carriage, was thoroughly overhauled, so that no defects might remain to cause a breakdown on the arduous journey that occupied five days. Then the iron bullet-proof lining of the carriage was examined, and four of his most muscular gamekeepers were selected to accompany him. All at last being ready, two keepers were seated on the box, each provided with a double-barrelled gun, and two others similarly armed in the dickey. Sir Watkin would personally superintend the loading of the carriage with the products of his rent-roll, and would then take his seat, accompanied by his land-bailiff. After a day's journey of between forty or fifty miles, the coach would be drawn up at some hostelry, well known to Sir Watkin, and the treasure guarded throughout the night by two of the keepers and by the two carriage-dogs, which had trotted beneath the equipage all day. With such precautions, it is not altogether remarkable that the worthy baronet's fortress on wheels was never attacked.

The history of the Holyhead Road gives some idea of what the cross-roads in North Wales were like. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the letters from Welshpool to Shrewsbury were carried on horseback by a post-boy, Job Bray, who also conveyed commodities between the two towns, carrying them well packed round his body or in the saddle-bags. As the roads under the various Turnpike Acts improved slowly, stage-wagons and stage-coaches began to ply once a fortnight between the larger towns. "Time, tide, and Bala carriers wait for no man" was a proverb in Merionethshire in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Until 1840 the mail-bags were carried on horseback and it was only in 1841 that a four-horse mail coach began to run from Shrewsbury to Aberystwyth, dropping at the Cross Foxes, Mallwyd, all letters for Llanymawddwy, where there was no post office until 1851. The mountain cross-road or track from Bala to Dinas Mawddwy (shown in Cary's *Travellers' Companion*) was "improved" about 1835, but it was still a dreaded pass. Far on into the nineteenth century transport and travel for the people of Llanymawddwy had to be done on horseback. The first cart seen at Llanymawddwy was in 1810 at Cae Paras or Peris, a farm owned by Mr. Lewis Nanney. Before that day they carried hay and corn in sleighs or drags (car llusg). At funerals the coffin was brought down from the mountain farms on a horse-bier carried by two horses, one at each end of the bier. The rear horse had its head close to the coffin and for obvious reasons had to be well trained. Wool and farm-produce, meat, butter, oats, etc., were all taken to market on horseback. The pack-saddle (called ystrodyr gyrn or horn-saddle) was variously fitted with pummels or horns which carried safely the butter-keg (crwc), the wool-sacks or other produce. The farmers met the transport and other farm-problems by co-operation. Farm helped farm. When the produce of a farm —corn, butter, wool—was ready for sale, a help-meet troop of pack-ponies was there to convey it to fair or market. So, too, was the ploughing done.

A great event was the "Dressing-day," when the farm manure was carried out and spread over the land. All the maidens and youths in a dingle

or group of farms mustered on the "Dressing-day" and set forth in bands to carry out in hand-barrows or baskets the manure to the fields; the baskets, made with a sliding side, easily dropped and scattered their contents. The winter evenings were brightened by Cymmorth Gwau or "knitting help." Men, women, and children assembled at each other's houses to knit stockings while listening to some ancient song or legend.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century conditions had improved. The home was still the workshop and "the progress of machinery had not yet destroyed the domestic character" of the chief sphere of female industry. In Llanymawddwy, as in all mountain and in most rural districts, the people were parish-bound. But they were not without their pleasures and diversions. The Patronal Festival called Gwyl Mabsant, the vigil or wake of the Holy Man, fell in August. The whole countryside thronged to the Dinas. The crowd slept in barns and hay-lofts and a Gwyl Mabsant bed was a proverb for overcrowding. The Festival, which lasted four days, began on the Sunday following the actual Saint's Day (August 12th), and was called Sul y Pwdin—Pudding Sunday—the only day in the year when they had pudding in the farm-houses for dinner. Games, jumping, running, putting the weight, wrestling (codwm clos), cock-fighting, dancing, feasting, drinking, football, and musical contests occupied the time. Most important of all was the fair held during the Festival. The religious part of the Festival disappeared, but the fair survived. They were a simple folk, somewhat

boisterous and certainly bibulous in their occasional revels. They had their quaint ways. On Easter Monday six or eight women surrounded the men they might meet and lifted them up above their heads thrice. On Easter Tuesday the men returned the compliment. On Christmas Day they carried about a horse's skull decked with ribbons, something like the hobby horse in an ancient drama, described by Sir Walter Scott in *The Abbot*.

In physique the people were strong and capable of hard and sustained work. Many of the men were famous for their feats of strength. The women who took a large part in the outdoor work had beautiful complexions, luxuriant hair, and good teeth which Geraldus says, "they rendered like ivory by constantly rubbing them with green hazel." There was no doctor nearer than Dolgelley; the only medicine procurable in the parish, and sold at the one shop there, was castor-oil. The claims of the healing art were met by John Jones the smithy, equally versed in animal and human diseases.

Old Shaney Williams as often by night as by day was hurried off on a pack-pony to some distant farm to serve as nurse or midwife. They were a self-sufficing community. They put together their own houses, they produced all their own food, they made their own clothes and their own shoes, and the raw material and the manufactured article of their home-industry were all of their own making. Shops and luxuries did not exist. Travelling pedlars occasionally wandered up the valley, trafficking in trinkets and cheap cutlery. Dwelling there at the foot of the Aran the people were slaves to the weather. An ab-

normal rainfall made their harvest a gamble. In the year 1799 nearly two-thirds of the sheep perished, and it is recorded that on two of the large farms there were only eight lambs. The year 1800, known in Llanymawddwy as the year of sodden bread (blwyddyn y bara mall), was second only in its privations and scarcity to the year of Waterloo. But Llanymawddwy was not singular in its sufferings. Wheat in 1795 was 49*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1812 had risen to 122*s.*, while during the same years the weekly wage of a weaver had fallen from 13*s.* 10*d.* to 4*s.* 3*d.* in the adjoining district. The Minutes of the Forden Union during those years, published in the Montgomeryshire Collection, showed how intense were the hardships and the scarcity endured by the poor; the cutting down of bread to a minimum, the appalling death-rate in the workhouse from putrid fever and smallpox, the flogging of the women inmates—" the Porter from the repugnancy he hath to the executing Corporal Punishments, tho' in other respects a good Servant, shd be permitted to employ John Davies of Montgomery or another Proper Person to do that part of his duty "—and the driving of the industrious poor under the Act of Settlement from parish to parish form the realities of those years which seem now to surpass comprehension. They cannot be passed over in silence because their influence upon the character of the people was deep and lasting.

I have selected Llanymawddwy as a typical country parish; its people in character and manner of life were truly typical of the country villages throughout Wales.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

In the eighteenth century education and religion preoccupied the minds and hearts of the Welsh people, and, if it did not transpose, refashioned the national character. In this chapter, therefore, I propose to trace the growth and progress of these creative forces.

A thirst for knowledge among the Welsh is no novelty; it is an instinct, and like an instinct does not change. When the ancestors of the Welsh first appear in history this innate propensity was a mark of their character. Tacitus repeats the description given of the ancient Briton by his father-in-law, the greatest Roman that ever ruled Britain. Agricola "preferred the natural genius (ingenia) of the British to the accomplishments (studiis) of the Gaul, and noted their eager ambition to acquire the art of eloquence." Compressed in a few sentences this is a true description of the Welshman to-day. His thirst for knowledge is throughout his history well attested by the varied attempts of his rulers to slake that thirst, and of this there is a curious instance. Owen Glyndwr, in March, 1406, summoned a Council of his nobles (proceres de prosapiâ nostra) and of "the prelates of his

Principality" to help him in drafting an answer to a despatch received from his then ally the King of France. Charles wished him to throw over the rival Innocent and to recognise Benedict XIII as Pope. The answer was sent by Glyndwr from Pennal, Machynlleth. True Welshman as Glyndwr was, he readily promised Charles to throw over Innocent and to submit to Pope Benedict. Here was a moment for a bargain and Glyndwr in his answer asked Charles to submit to the Pope a scheme for establishing two universities in Wales, one in the North, the other in the South. The Welsh envoys came back from France with gracious phrases but vague replies.

Then there is a tradition that Henry VII—probably before he came to the throne—promised to set up a Welsh university in the Vale of Neath. The promise did not materialise. Certainly, the Tudors did encourage the education of Welshmen by opening to them the grammar schools which they had founded. This made it easier for Welshmen to enter Oxford and Cambridge, an opportunity eagerly seized by a number of Welshmen.

Once again there is a later tradition that the question of a Welsh university was discussed in a correspondence between Cromwell and Richard Baxter. Again nothing came of it. Cromwell had no friends and the Commonwealth no mourners in Wales. On that forced march into South Wales in 1648 Cromwell reported that "Wales, smoking with confused discontent, had burst into a general blaze and has made two or three insurrections and are ready to do it every day." Gardiner, in his

History of the Commonwealth, described "Wales as still ever hostile to Puritan ascendency, and in 1651 there was a rising in Cardiganshire." Later, there was (see *Kenyon Papers*, Rolls Series) a large enlistment of men in Wales for King James and his service. The Jacobite leanings of Wales had an influence upon its history in the next century. Not until 1674 was a first and definite step forward taken in education and that was not taken by the Government but by a private individual, soon supported by an associated band of sympathisers, chief among whom was the Archbishop of Canterbury. After this manner did the movement come to life and grow.

Thomas Gouge, a Puritan and an ordained clergyman, was inspired by Joseph Alleine—author of the famous pamphlet *An Alarm to the Unconverted*—to carry on Alleine's work of evangelising the country, and Alleine bade him make Wales the field of his labours. Gouge eagerly took up the work. He visited Wales, and the first thing he did was to circulate religious books in the Welsh language. It is a pregnant fact that only thirty-two Welsh Bibles could be found in Wales and London. *The Whole Duty of Man* (500 copies) was at Gouge's expense translated into Welsh. Two years later (in 1674) Gouge formed a voluntary association to help in carrying on his work. Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Stillingfleet, Richard Baxter and others, were members of this Association. Bibles, Prayer Books, and various pamphlets in cheap editions were circulated in Wales. Archbishop Tillotson, in a funeral sermon at St. Ann's, Blackfriars, on November 4th, 1681, said that

"Gouge, born at Bow (1605), bred at Eaton School, and from thence chosen to King's College, Cambridge, did for the last nine or ten years of his life almost wholly apply his charity to Wales because there he judged was most occasion for it. He did not only lay out what he could spare out of his own estate, but employed his whole time and pains to excite and engage the charity of others for his assistance in it. And in this he had two excellent designs—one to have poor children brought up to read and write and to be carefully instructed in the principles of religion; the other, to furnish persons of grown age, especially the poor, with the helps and means of knowledge of the Bible and other books of Piety and Devotion in their own language.* In both these designs he found great success. Large and bountiful contributions were obtained from the nobility and gentry of Wales, from divers of the bishops and clergy, and from that perpetual fountain of charity the City of London, encouraged by the most bountiful example of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. To all which he constantly added two-thirds of his own estate." Gouge caused the books he circulated in the Welsh tongue "to be sold at easy rates to those that were able to buy them and to be freely given to those who were not." The work of Gouge lived. Parish or Charity Schools, with the support of Queen Anne, were soon and widely established. This movement spread rapidly but did not strike

* The voluntary association he formed in 1674 for promoting instruction in Wales was the pattern if not the parent of two other organisations, viz. the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698), and the National Society (1811).

deep. The idea of educating the poor was novel.

In England neither in principle nor in practice was there as yet any conception of a system of popular education. In Germany Francke, the famous Protestant professor, made provision for the education of the poor at Halle, and to his followers was due the first realschule in Germany. Frederick William the First, the propagator of procerity, had made (1717) education compulsory in Prussia, while in Scotland the famous parochial schools were established. Lecky, in his *History of the Eighteenth Century*, says that "for more than sixty years after the death of Queen Anne education in this country was a blank with the single exception of the circulating schools established in Wales." The Government in this country did nothing to promote, if it did nothing to hamper, popular education. There was an eager desire for knowledge, but the intellectual movements of the time were essentially aristocratic. Voltaire—whose influence among the dilettanti in England was great—and his disciples aimed at the enlightenment of an elect few. There was another consideration not to be ignored. The education of the children was regarded as something entirely outside the functions of Government. The English people, while consolidating their newly acquired liberty and laying foundations for its further extension, limited the sphere of Government to the protection of life and property. Hence the problem of teaching the poor was left to private effort, represented by the Church, by private individuals, by voluntary societies.

And now we come to the one exception named by Lecky. Sir John Phillips, foremost figure among the promoters of Welsh education in the eighteenth century, directed the attention of the Christian Knowledge Society to Wales. He and his brother-in-law, the Rev. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, in 1730 devised and set in motion a system of Circulating Schools. The form of instruction, the Welsh language, the moving from place to place, were the points emphasised. They sent Welsh schoolmasters to the country parishes of North and South Wales "to open schools at the request of the clergyman of the parish and his parishioners." They appointed inspectors to visit these schools, to examine the pupils and to see that the masters did their work. The schoolmasters and inspectors were paid by the Society out of money subscribed by the leading gentry and clergy and others. A schoolmaster was appointed to one parish or place for a quarter of a year, and then removed to another for a like period. The quarter of a year was soon found to be too short a time. These Circulating Schools taught more than 150,000 children and adults to learn to read. Griffith Jones died in 1761, leaving his property to Madam Bevan to carry on the work in which she had greatly helped. Madam Bevan died in 1779, leaving the property of Griffith Jones, largely augmented by the addition of her own, to her executors, with a direction to carry on the Circulating Schools. One of the executors "named Elizabeth Stepney" possessed herself of Madam Bevan's effects and refused to apply them to the charitable purposes directed

by the will. A lawsuit followed, and a decretal order for the regulation of the charity was issued by Lord Chancellor Eldon, the value of the charity being over £30,000. The Circulating Schools under that order were restarted in 1804 and the system improved in the light of experience. The child was "to come to school with his face and hands clean washed, and hair combed; he was to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic." The masters were paid £30 a year and the inspectors £20 a year, and travelling expenses. The difficulty from beginning to end—not the only but the chief difficulty—was the lack of qualified teachers. A full record of these schools survives.

In 1749 there were, in the Diocese of St. Asaph, 52 of these schools, and the total number in Wales was 215, and the scholars 8,687. There is pathos and humour in some of the records. John Jones, the clergyman of Capel Garmon, reports that their school was so excellent that "parents sent their children from other parishes to attend it," and in his letter to the bishop he adds, "our schoolmaster, my lord, is the second Busby in this country"—an interesting testimony to the fame of the Westminster Headmaster. In the same letter (1753) John Jones pathetically explained to the bishop that "he was himself unable to visit the school as often as he wished because he was afflicted with a cold and dry rumbling commotion internally which some call the hyp." Hence came, perhaps, our word "hipped."

I am anxious to state as accurately as possible the value of the contribution made by Griffith Jones to education in Wales. I will give, in his

own words, his own conception of his scheme as defined in his direction to the schoolmasters employed "to teach all the ignorant people that come to them to read the Word of God in their mother-tongue; to sing a psalm, and pray with them night and morning; to instruct them twice a day in the Church Catechism, and the meaning thereof, by the help of such expositions as both the masters and scholars are provided with; to talk to them about their duty to God and man, and to warn them against all, particularly the reigning, vices of the world; likewise to teach them a devout and decent behaviour in divine worship; and to train them up to answer reverently the responses in our Divine Service, and to bring their scholars to their parish church, that the minister, when he finds it convenient, may examine them publicly." "This, sir, is the sum and substance of the rules by which the schools are conducted in everything agreeable to our happy establishment in the Church of England."

Griffith Jones, with courage and common sense, started his scheme in his own parish in the year 1730. He was a member of the Christian Knowledge Society, and in all probability formed his plans for the instruction to be given from the declarations of that Society. Their circular letter sent out to the clergy in England and Wales at the beginning of the century ran thus: "The visible decay of religion in this kingdom with the monstrous increase of Deism, Prophaneness, and Vice, has excited the zeal of persons of the best character to consult together how to put a stop

to so fatal an inundation." For the remedy of these evils generous persons were invited to contribute towards erecting schools for the instruction of poor children in the principles of true religion. Inspired by this example Griffith Jones as we have seen meant the teaching in his school to be religious teaching, the one text-book was to be the Bible, and the Church Catechism the one book used for repetition. The title of the "Piety Schools" took the place of the older title of "Charity" or "Parochial" Schools. Religion was the motive and the purpose of these schools, and it is true that the first symptoms of a revived interest in education in the eighteenth century came with the awakening sense of religion.

From all the records it would appear that sympathy for the poor rather than a yearning for their education influenced the majority of their early supporters. In Wales the attitude of the bishops tends to confirm that impression. One of the Welsh bishops, preaching on the subject of education in London (1777), dwelt upon the current impression "that some part at least of the instructions provided are unnecessary and even prejudicial to the lower ranks of life by giving a taste for enjoyments and a sense of their own merit superior to the offices they must be employed in, and that there are kinds of knowledge and instruction which would be very unsuitable to their low station is readily admitted, but whatever kind of knowledge it may be thought proper to deny the poor, one kind there is which all must allow to be expedient for them, and that is the knowledge of their duty."

Wales, impoverished by the Cromwellians and frowned upon by the Jacobites, saw its people at the beginning of the eighteenth century struggling under crushing poverty. The majority of the bequests between 1690 and 1730 were made for the relief of the poor. The money was left "to be distributed to the poor, to clothe old people, to be laid out in bread to be distributed among the poor." One bequest in 1732 leaves money "towards clothing six poor old women and towards teaching six poor children." From that date bequests for teaching poor children steadily increased—a material proof that the importance of the education of the poor was slowly finding a place in the thoughts of benevolent people. The plan of Circulating Schools was that of an inventive mind, prepossessed by the modern idea that "circulation is civilisation." Flattering testimony to the imagination and organising ability of the author of Circulating Schools came from Scotland where Gaelic Schools were being established in the Highlands, and the authorities adopted Griffith Jones's scheme, fashioned as it was by him to meet the needs of the remote and mountainous districts of Wales.

What, it may be asked, were the practical results in Wales of Griffith Jones's scheme? The immediate results were great, and the evidence is found in reliable sources, viz. the Visitation Returns made in 1729, the year before the birth of the Circulating Schools. One rural dean reports that in every parish in his deanery the answer to the bishop's query was "there is no school of any sort whatever kept in this parish." This was

true of Wales with the possible exception of one district in the South where Sir Humphrey Mackworth and Sir John Phillips, both Welshmen, and both members of the S.P.C.K., had set up "parochial" or charity schools. Twenty years later a great change had been wrought, and the Visitation Returns continually report "there is a school in this parish where the children are taught to read the Bible and to learn the Catechism and are brought to church on Sunday"—an echo of the words of Griffith Jones.

Any just retrospect must record the inevitable difficulties that beset this noble venture. The masters were paid £20 or £25 a year; they were untrained and were more fitted to be taught than to teach. Any man who could read and expound was welcomed as a teacher. Many of them were taken from the lowest class and were often recommended in compassion for their failure in some other calling. They moved about from parish to parish in peripatetic homelessness. They were often compelled to hold their schools in most unsuitable buildings, without any adequate equipment of furniture or books. They were only subject to dismissal for misconduct, and regarding themselves as irremovable pensioners they carried on their work without zeal or interest.

The Piety Schools after the scheme of reorganisation were known as "the Madam Bevan Schools," and the whole system was restarted in 1804. The verdict passed upon it by the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1847 was adverse, but I must not here anticipate the verdict then given; suffice it to say that the work of Griffith Jones

was, under his overseeing eye, without doubt the most uplifting work done for Wales in the eighteenth century. Lecky describes "Griffith Jones as the greatest of the eighteenth-century evangelists of Wales." A teacher, rather than a revivalist, nevertheless he was the true forerunner of the revivals which aroused Wales.

The Piety Schools were well afoot when George Whitefield, red hot from the Kingswood colliers, twice visited Wales in 1739. His reception at Cardiff and Carmarthen and wherever he went in South Wales was tumultuary. The people of every class—high and low—turned out to greet him. This was the more astounding in that his sermons and speeches were all in English. The result of these visits was practical. He laid down a plan for a revival campaign, became its leader, "and was chosen to be always moderator." He introduced the Methodist Societies, like, if not akin to, the system of "class meetings" and "little churches" within the established Church, which John Wesley borrowed from the Moravians. The Methodist Association and the monthly meetings set up by Whitefield remain to-day a vital part of the Calvinistic Methodist organisation.

Whitefield gathered around him Welsh subordinates whom he took with him to London. There he trained them as partners in his revival work in England. Earnest Churchmen—clerical and lay—enrolled themselves as members of these Societies. The thought that in doing this they were disloyal to the Church or were setting up standards of disaffection never presented itself

to their minds. They looked upon themselves as self-dedicated missioners in the work of the Church.

The revival in its early stages will be best understood by a description of one of the great meetings. The members of the Methodist Societies made it a rule to communicate at least once a month. The celebrations were arranged at convenient churches, and were made known betimes to the members of these Societies, with the name of the preacher. Such a gathering took place at Rhandirmwyn near Llandovery. Rowland of Llangeitho, the famous revivalist, and an ordained priest, was the preacher. Eight or ten clergy were present to assist him at the celebration. A vast multitude came together—some from forty and even fifty miles. Many rode the distance, arriving on Saturday night. The adjoining fields were full of horses and ponies. Some of the people had started early on Saturday and taken a shorter course over the mountains, halting at the springs they knew well, to water their animals and quench their own thirst. One who was present described the people as assembled there in their thousands, their hearts aglow with religious fervour and their eyes red with the tears of penitence. Daniel Rowland, their gifted and given leader, did much to bring system and order into the work of the Methodist Societies. Singing became a marked feature in these great open-air religious assemblies. Archdeacon Edmund Prys, of St. John's College, Cambridge, Chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, had composed a metrical version of the Psalms, fitted for con-

gregational singing, and this version was appended to the Welsh Prayer Book printed in 1621, and from 1630 to 1730 this book of psalmody held the field in Church music.

The singing at this period was almost entirely by ear and memory. A little later Vicar Pritchard (1579–1644), stirred by the lawless character of the people and finding that sermons had little permanent effect and that music touched their hearts, threw his teaching into rough, popularverse. His poems spread quickly and widely and many of them were sung to popular tunes. Pritchard, like his countryman George Herbert, started back from the "bare, intense spiritualism of the Puritans," and the sacramental teaching of his poems is that of Hooker.

A large collection of carols was in existence at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These carols were originally sung to secular music, much of it imported. They were sung to the harp and in church at the Plygain (Pulli cantus) or early morning service on Christmas Day. Many carols were debased survivals from the Middle Ages, and, like the verses of the troubadours of the thirteenth century, had little to do with Christianity. The coming and the call of the religious revival were first heard in sermons and prayer meetings. No precise record remains of singing or music in the earliest revival meetings. The music with which the people were familiar in church was the carol and the psalmody of Edmund Prys. The members of the Methodist Societies would have regarded the carol at their solemn meetings as a profanity, and the psalmody

of Prys, in its monotonous repetitions, would have been felt to be no fitting medium for the praises and the ecstasies of the children of the revival.

At that time few, if any, hymns were in the currency of the Church. The crowds grew, and the craving for music was an irresistible native instinct. The leader at one of these assemblies in challenging tones asked some one to come forward and compose a hymn for their next great meeting. The hymn came from the Rev. W. Williams, a clergyman in the Diocese of St. David's and a fervent member in the Methodist Societies. Williams of Pantycelyn—by that name and title he is known among Welshmen the world over—published in 1744 a few hymns under the title "Alleluia." This little booklet grew and came out in six editions, and in 1749 the whole was published in one volume. The early hymns were rough and unpoetical. The first edition was sold for one penny, and quickly and eagerly bought up.

Some twenty-five years later a *Sea of Glass* and *Gloria in Excelsis* were published, and in these a great advance in merit and composition was evident. The hymns were written for the people and in their native language. The religious spirit in them was that of the revival. In the sermons and the hymns the Atonement and not the Incarnation was the prevailing theme. The conception of the indwelling Presence of the Incarnate Saviour, and therewith of the consciousness of human fellowship, were not the thoughts that inspired preacher or poet. The whole firmament of their religious outlook was

darkened by the terrors and the torments of hell. To them our Lord appeared as the great deliverer who had come to pay the penalty and set the prisoner free. A famous Pantycelyn hymn, sung at the Investiture in 1911 and translated by Mr. Percival Graves, opens thus :

> Lord, ride on to triumph glorious,
> Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh !
> Earth shall own Thy might victorious,
> Death and Hell shall vanquished lie.

The language of the hymns is Welsh at its best, and the imagery persistently reveals a born lover of nature. The one overwhelming doctrine is driven home in similes and metaphors so varied, so insistent, so concrete, so external, in words so simple and alarming, that none can miss its meaning or escape its power. There is nothing of the carol spirit in these hymns, nor is there any trace of the mysticism dominant in the poems of George Herbert and Vaughan the Silurist—both Welshmen by birth.

In the last 300 years three commanding figures stand out in the history of the Church of Wales—the bishop who gave the people the Bible in Welsh, the vicar who taught them to read it, the hymnologist who taught them to sing its lessons. Of these three the last remains the best known. His hymns, first composed and used during a period of intense fervour and emotion, took possession of the hearts of the Welsh people, and no ballad or song or lyric ever captured a whole nation with more astounding rapidity or held it with more undiminished sway. To-day they are sung in every Welsh church or chapel

and are the mainstay of every Welsh hymn-book. For generations of Welshmen those hymns have been a liturgy which never wearies, because it comes to them in music that never palls. The hymns live, and their author remains without a rival or a successor. It is true that singing was only an incident in the first open-air meetings: the thousands that came thronged to hear the revivalist preachers. To-day their very names and sermons "are embraced with all forgiveness, all oblivion."

An examination of the Methodist movement in Wales must be approached not in a spirit of controversy but of reverent recognition of what it was and of what it did, and above all with a desire not to exaggerate or extenuate. At the outset it is vital to bear in mind the differences which distinguished the Methodist movement in Wales from that in England. The pioneers in England and in Wales differed in character and in teaching. Whitefield and Wesley both visited Wales, but it was Whitefield, the man of weak will and of no learning, the impassioned orator, who, unlike Wesley, made an instantaneous impression upon the Welsh people, and to him must be attributed the Calvinism which ultimately dominated the Methodist Societies in Wales. Then there was the difference in race. However race may be defined, there is a pre-potency in the English and the Welsh which reveals itself. While in England distrust of the Stuarts overcame disdain for the Georges, Wales remained steadfast and Jacobite.

Not unimportant was the fact that the religious

outlook was different. England, in that coarse but thinking century, once safe from the Stuarts, bent its energies upon the problem of toleration, while the Hanoverian bishops in their sermons and charges sought to rationalise Christianity. One illustration will show how profoundly different was the way in which the Holy Communion was regarded by the Welsh people. Archbishop Secker, when Bishop of Oxford, told his clergy in 1741 "that a sacrament might be easily interposed in the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas." At that time the Holy Communion sank into almost total neglect. On the other hand, as we have seen, the members of the Methodist Societies in Wales from the first began their great meetings with a celebration of the Holy Communion.

The revival in Wales was at first intermittent and sporadic, and burst forth in a dead and heavy atmosphere, like the prelude of a thunderstorm. Men awoke and answered the call. No reasonable person can doubt that the revival left profound and permanent results, and that it largely changed the religious character of the Welsh people. The theology of the Methodist movement in Wales was shot through with Calvinism, and under its influence the religion of the individual became introspective and personal. The Methodist wrought out his own salvation in isolation, and with little sense of corporate religion. The immediate results were startling and the moral effect upon the generation that joined the first Methodist Societies was great and evident. There was a sudden, almost miraculous, change in the conduct of the

people. The drunkenness and the rough and brutal gatherings of undisciplined youths, the horse-play and the fighting that prevailed fell into disrepute, and in the country parishes manners were softened, and the standard of conduct raised, and this moral renovation spread from the village to the town.

More powerful in influence than the revival sermon was the teaching of the Sunday schools and the prayer meetings; these prayer meetings began in a farm-house where three or four neighbouring families met. Sunday schools quickened intensely the desire to learn to read the Bible, and it was on this side of their work that the revivalists helped forward education. The cheap Bible, and the penny collection of Welsh hymns were found in every homestead and supplied the people with their religion and their art. The regular meetings of the Methodist Societies, with strict rules strictly enforced, taught them the value of discipline and organisation.

In the next generation defects and shortcomings revealed themselves; order and authority had been disregarded if not disrupted. The meetings in many places were marked by wild excitement, and by an alarming increase in the want of self-control. These extravagances had grave results. The crowding together of young men and women at these exciting services was followed by natural and inevitable consequences, and the self-control that keeps sensuality at bay was weakened. An inevitable reaction brought with it in many cases a hardness and an indifference to all spiritual appeal.

The Calvinistic teaching helped to transform in a large measure the character of the Welsh people; the melancholy congenital but latent in the Celt became revealed and contagious. Amusements, however innocent, were condemned; dancing and games were ostracised. The Patronal Festivals that linked up each parish with history fell under the malediction of the Calvinists. The change came slowly, its effects were deep and visible. The smiling, happy, open-handed, sport-loving Welshman seemed to have made room for a stern, sour-visaged, and unattractive figure. Fear was the evil genius of the Calvinist teaching and gloom its tragedy. The recoil was humanly certain, and before the close of the century the spontaneity of these early years began to wane with results that will emerge later on. Truth, the daughter of Time, revealed the influence in its consequence.

CHAPTER III

CATHEDRALS, CHURCHES, CLERGY

Before the end of the eighteenth century the Church in Wales had failed to control or to conserve within her own borders the great spiritual uprising that marked its beginning. How came this to pass? The answer to this question is the key to the grave events that followed. Two governing facts come first in any attempt to answer the question. Wise and learned men have adopted the phrase that "in the Church in Wales what the palmer-worm of the Tudor pillage had left was consumed by the locust of the Puritan oppression." Then came the dead hand of the Georges when signs of life and recovery had already appeared. The evidence —and it is irresistible—for these statements must be given in detail and their relative importance will be appreciated by the reader.

I begin with the four cathedrals in Wales. At the end of the seventeenth century the cathedral at Llandaff had "grown into dangerous decay." In 1691 the Chapter were unfortunately compelled by the poverty and the decay of the cathedral and by the general disorganisation "to put down and discontinue the cathedral choir." Browne Willis gives the yearly value of the reserved rents of

the cathedral belonging to the whole Chapter as £281 per annum, and in 1718 he reported that the cathedral would soon "be utterly destroyed and become a woeful spectacle of ruin." At that time the services were interrupted by the rain which fell in the choir. A violent storm in 1720 blew down some of the battlements and two pinnacles of the south tower, and the Chapter resolved that they were "utterly incapable out of their small revenues to support the growing charge of repairs caused by storms and tempests." One disaster after another befell the cathedral.

The Bishop in 1728 subscribed £100 for the reparation of the cathedral, and funds were collected by a brief. In 1732 the repairs were carried on under the guidance of Bishop Harris, who was responsible for cutting off the western part of the nave with its two towers left in ruin. "We have repaired," he said, "the wall within sixty feet of the west door and we propose to take down the two towers, which at present serve as a western front." Having thus divided in half the cathedral, he caused a new church to be built within the cathedral, or, as it is described by Mr. Newell, "a pseudo-Italian Temple was raised within the walls of the church."

Let me pause here to pay a tribute of respect and gratitude to Mr. Newell, the author of the *History of Llandaff*, in which he gives a complete and intelligible account of the cathedral during the eighteenth century. The prebendaries who by the constitution of the Chapter were to be residentiary were non-resident, and their residences were in ruins. In 1778 a prebendal house

was in such a dilapidated condition that it was taken down. Some shattered remains of an organ were left in a wooden case when Browne Willis wrote in 1720. Bishop Ollivant described his arrival as bishop in 1849: "When I was enthroned I had to walk through the western half of the cathedral, which was a roofless ruin, until I came to a cross-wall dividing it from a Grecian building at the east. On knocking for admission, I was received by the respected father of the present diocesan architect, Mr. Pritchard, the parish schoolmaster, with a fiddle (bass-viol), and six national schoolboys, who walked on each side. And so we marched in procession to the eastern chapel."

St. Asaph Cathedral fared on the whole better than the other Welsh cathedrals, although that is not saying much. In 1710 Bishop Fleetwood "paved and flagged a great part of the cathedral, and did something to adorn and paint the choir." In 1715 the cathedral was much damaged by a storm. The resolution of the Chapter in 1721 stated that the "old Chapter House, by reason of its closeness and want of air and unwholesomeness for the members of the Chapter to continue long therein, was abandoned and converted into a lumber and work house." In 1780 the choir was remodelled and the timber roof covered by a plaster ceiling. Bishop Cleaver, as we shall see in the case of Bangor, disastrously meddled with the roof of the nave by lowering it and so concealing the clerestory from within. The stalls were moved up to the chancel and large pews placed where the choir stalls now are. The nave

was without a bench or a chair and the congregation sat in the small chancel. The Cromwellians "most profanely" desecrated the cathedral; "in Oliver's days one Milles kept his horses and oxen in the nave of the cathedral, fed his calves in the bishop's throne, and used the font for a trough to water his horses."

St. David's Cathedral, the glory of the Province, suffered much in the civil war, and it has been generally supposed that at that time the eastern aisles and chapels were virtually lost to the cathedral. Whether the lead from the Lady Chapel and the aisles was stripped by Bishop Barlow (1536–1548) or by Cromwell's soldiers still remains in doubt. That stripping exposed aisles and choir to the weather, and so ruinous was the result that Bishop Lucy (1661) or Bishop Thomas (1678) proposed to remove the cathedral from St. David's to Carmarthen—a proposal which was frustrated by the protests of the people of Dewysland. The transepts were releaded by the efforts of Bishop Watson in 1696. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the canons taxed themselves to carry out some urgent repairs. Nothing more was done of a substantial character until 1789, when Bishop Horsley set on foot a subscription for restoring part of the cathedral, with the result that Mr. Nash carried out plans for rebuilding the west front. There had been "nothing to deserve the name of a restoration" during the century, until Nash's work was completed.

We turn back for a moment to the Cathedral Chapter. After the Reformation the year was

divided equally among the six "residentiaries" who exercised all the powers and divided all the common revenues of the Chapter. Each canon, according to seniority, chose the time for his two months' residence. In 1765 the Chapter invented "a new and most ingenious scheme under which one canon was to perform the duties of residence for all the rest." From this followed the sinecurisms and the non-residence of the canons. The Bishop had been Dean until 1840, when the title passed to the Precentor.

Bangor Cathedral has much the same tale to tell. In the civil war stained-glass windows were shattered, monuments were mutilated, and woodwork destroyed. From time to time some urgent but inexpensive repairs were undertaken. In 1800 Bishop Cleaver (as he afterwards did at St. Asaph), with the best intentions, took the roof of the nave in hand and all its carved work was destroyed, the stalls were swept away, and "the most execrable Jim-crack substituted that ever disgraced a church"—to use the words of Sir Gilbert Scott.

For the whole of the eighteenth century the four cathedrals underwent a progressive dilapidation—Llandaff left in almost irremediable ruin, St. David's shorn of irreplaceable beauties, but still happily capable of a noble restoration. Bangor and St. Asaph, under the guidance of the same wise and sympathetic restorer, remain essentially unchanged from their pre-Cromwellian days. As mother-churches in the true sense of the word, the four cathedrals almost disappeared from the religious record of Wales in the eighteenth century.

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

They had been grievously despoiled in the seventeenth century and had not recovered from the disorganisation that ensued, but poor as they were, the sinecurists and a non-resident Chapter rendered them as palsied in influence as they were derelict in fabric.

I pass from the cathedrals to the parish churches. With very few exceptions the churches were in various stages of dilapidation or ruin. The condition of the churches in South Wales, and especially in the Diocese of St. David's, was, from the statement of Dr. Erasmus Saunders (1721), ruinous—" in some places we have churches without chancels, in others we have some piece of a church, *i.e.* an end or a side aisle, remaining; and in some other parishes even none at all; nay, and the desolate appearance of those that are yet standing speak with what difficulty they subsist and how miserably they are neglected. In some not only the bells are taken away, but the towers are demolished, and in many others there are scarce any seats excepting here and there a few ill-contrived and broken stools and benches; their little windows are without glass and darkened with boards, mats or lattices; their roofs decaying, tottering, and leaking; their walls green, mouldy and nauseous; their floors ridged up with noisome graves, without any pavements and only covered with a few rushes. Did you see these desolations of our cathedrals and parochial churches it might tempt you to think we had lain in the road of the Turks and Saracens in some of their wild excursions, or that we had but very lately the discipline and reformation of an Oliverian army."

With this grim description the condition in North Wales was in keeping. One of the most constant answers given by the clergy in the Diocese of St. Asaph was "the whole church is ruinous—walls, roof, windows, floors." In some churches there were pews privately owned and set up without regard to order or symmetry. The owners claimed the right of burial under their family pew. Some churches were only flagged within the Communion-rail, others were flagged with the roughest and most unequal stones. "The parish church of Denbigh (1749) wanted flagging, and gravestones are so irregularly set upon the floor that it is dangerous walking along the alleys." The parish church of Bala, unflagged like very many other churches in the diocese, was thus described by the Rural Dean (1730): "The nave is filled up with ropes, cushions, rushes, and other conveniences for the meaner sort to sit and kneel upon. No part of it is paved, at which I could not but be surprised, and especially at the reason given both by the minister and wardens. They all three strongly urged that if the body of the church were paved the poorer people must absent from it; it would be impossible for them to sit or kneel during divine service without uneasiness and pain."

A common item in churchwardens' accounts is the mowing of rushes, and the clearing off of the old rushes and placing new ones in their stead. In the majority of the churches the floors were of mud or gravel. In some few churches there were pews placed at haphazard and a few benches, the latter often described as "old and dilapidated." The windows were "mere peeping

holes." There were no evening services, and a frequent entry mentions that candles were provided for saying prayers on Christmas morning. Stoves were unknown. The churches were dark, damp, and cold. The one surplice, the pulpit cushions, the altar cloth, were generally reported "to be old and torn," the sacramental vessels "dirty and uncared for," the altar "mean and scandalous." In one parish the churchwardens report with surprise that a new curate objected to their practice of holding the vestry meeting within the sanctuary, and of using the altar for their business table.

The condition of the churches, so similar and so universal, points to a common cause, and that cause undoubtedly was poverty, pre-eminently the poverty of the inferior clergy who served the various churches. The great majority of the incumbents of the richer benefices were non-resident and they employed curates to discharge the statutory obligations, and these were laxly interpreted. The non-resident incumbents took the emoluments and the curates did the work. Weather and roads and short winter-days rendered these services in the country parishes brief and irregular. The people often waited for hours in damp and draughty churches for the fitful ministrations of the curate responsible for two, sometimes three, parishes, as he tramped from church to church

The standard of education in the curates ordained in the first half of the century was higher than at the end of the century. In an ordination held at St. Asaph in 1748, of the seven deacons

ordained, four were graduates of Oxford, two had been to Oxford and had taken no degree, and one was a "literate person." The four graduates were licensed to curacies, each at a stipend of £20 a year. The proportion of graduates fell steadily during the century and the number of "literate persons" increased. Throughout the century the Visitation Returns revealed the abject poverty of these stipendiary curates. They were too poor to buy surplice or cassock and their dress and mode of living were very little above that of a labourer. Some of them added a few pounds to their income by teaching, with their own children, those of their better-to-do neighbours.

One illustration, typical and authentic, will suffice. John Jones was appointed curate of Capel Garmon in 1730, and remained there until he died in 1779. When he had been there twenty years he pleaded in his Visitation Return to his bishop (the Hon. Robert Hay Drummond, afterwards Archbishop of York) "for a place where I can get a wherewithal to educate my poor six children. May I presume to tell your lordship that it is a general complaint that the revenues of the Church are very unequally divided amongst the inferior clergy, some by putting Pelion upon Ossa bask in ease and plenty, whilst others *metu et sordibus conflictantur*. These unhappy circumstances are enough to break the vigour of their parts and spirit and render their persons mean and their compositions equal to their condition and circumstances. Such sorry neglect towards them may tempt one to imagine they are priests of a persecuted Church. Some of my children, my lord, are at present not only

without education but without shoes—not through any misconduct of my own but by the frowns of fortune which I am resolved to bear with by the assistance of the Almighty, if not contentedly yet courageously." John Jones was a Bachelor of Arts. He held two services every Sunday and Holy Communion four times a year, and he catechised regularly in his church. For forty-nine years John Jones was curate of Capel Garmon at a stipend of £20 a year.

The number of curates who "had been to no university" increased. They were untrained, uneducated, and often unsatisfactory. One such curate is described as "a very decent, well-behaved clergyman, but unhinged chiefly by drinking." There are frequent instances of intemperance quoted. The system was bad and resulted in two classes of clergy—the incumbents non-resident graduates and well-off, the curates poor, often illiterate, and starving. The origin of the general stipend of £20 for a curate was due to the Act passed in the twelfth year of Queen Anne, which fixed the minimum stipend at £20, and the maximum stipend which a bishop could assign at £50. A later Act, passed at the close of the century, preserved the minimum of £20 and raised the possible maximum that a bishop could grant to £75.

The discussions in parliament about the raising of the possible maximum from £50 to £75 were unedifying. Bishop Horsley pointed out in the House of Lords that while the bishop is empowered to give £75 when he thinks fit "he is in no such case empowered to grant more

than he is in no case compelled to give so much." Under the Statute of Queen Anne "the bishop often thought it the best thing to be done for the curate was to leave him to the liberality of the incumbent and to connive at his officiating without a license." There are many cases of these unlicensed curates recorded, and the pitiful outburst of poor John Jones, who was unlicensed for forty-one years, makes further comment unnecessary.

For the abject condition of the curates, described as "the inferior clergy," and the general disorganisation of the Church in Wales, the bishops in Wales were in no small measure responsible. The conception which the bishops and higher clergy entertained of their responsibilities and of their duties can be best discovered by the manner in which they discharged both. The bishops, with scarcely an exception, were Englishmen. They were appointed under the Hanoverian kings, not as pillars of the Church, but as political props for the Throne. There were some conspicuous exceptions to this criticism, among whom were Bishops Bull, Beveridge, and Tanner.

Much more damaging to the Church than their nationality was their callous indifference to their duty; their non-residence was a more disintegrating injury to the Church even than their ignorance of the language. The Welsh Sees were used as stepping-stones. Hoadley, able and notorious, never once set foot in his Diocese of Bangor during an episcopate of seven years. Herring, Hutton, Moore, all Bishops of Bangor and afterwards Archbishops of Canterbury, paid one or two

visits to the diocese. Herring, back in London in 1739, thus writes to a friend: "I met your letter here on my return from Wales. I bless God for it, I am come home quite well, after a very romantic and, upon looking back, I think it a most perilous journey. I set out upon this adventurous journey on a Monday morning accompanied (as bishops usually are) by my chancellor, my chaplain, secretary, two or three friends, and our servants. The novelty of the thing gave me spirits and the air made my appetite much keener than the knife I ate with. We had our music, too, for there came in a harper who soon drew about us a group of figures that Hogarth would give any price for. The harper was in his true place and attitude. A man and a woman standing before him singing to his instrument wildly but not disagreeably; a little dirty child was playing with the bottom of the harp; a woman in a sick night-cap hanging over the stairs; a boy with crutches fixed in a staring attention; and a girl carding wool in the chimney and rocking a cradle with her naked foot, interrupted in her business by the charms of the music; all ragged and dirty and all silently attentive. These figures gave us a most entertaining picture. One reflection gave me particular comfort. That the assembly before us demonstrated that even here the influential sun warmed poor mortals and inspired them with love and music."

This letter in its *naïveté* is an admirable "snap-shot" of the bishop as overseer of his diocese. The very idea of visiting the flock

committed to his spiritual cure and government was "romantic." Even with a vast body-guard the adventure was "most perilous." But there were real compensations. Novelty and Welsh air gave him a keen appetite. The one comfort this father-in-God derived from his children in the faith was that the influential sun condescended to warm the "poor mortals" whom he shamelessly neglected.

The aloofness and the indifference and the frequent translations of those appointed to Welsh Sees in the eighteenth century tell their own tale. In the Diocese of St. Asaph from 1703 to 1806 there were fifteen bishops, all English with the exception of John Wynne, head of Jesus College, Oxford, whom "George I appointed, being aware that the Welsh were inimical to his family and so tried to reconcile them by giving them a Welshman for a bishop." In the Diocese of St. David's from 1705 to 1802 there were eighteen bishops. In Bangor from 1702 to 1809 there were fifteen bishops, John Evans being the only Welshman. In the Diocese of Llandaff from 1706 to 1826 there were fourteen bishops. Out of this total of sixty-two bishops appointed to Welsh Sees in the eighteenth century there were only three Welshmen, and the great majority were non-resident. Comparing with this the appointments to the four Welsh bishoprics from 1806 to 1927 there were only twenty-one bishops appointed and of that number eleven officiated in Welsh. This record illustrates the fact that in the eighteenth century the Welsh bishoprics were treated as political prizes and their occupants moved about

without the very slightest regard for the spiritual interests of the Church.

Rapid translations made it impossible for the people to gain any knowledge of, and thereby to have any respect for, the figures in this episcopal procession. But there was much more than this. To a nation alive with religious enthusiasm the utterances of their fathers-in-God struck a chilling note. The revivalists could hardly appreciate Bishop Horsley's Charge in 1790, when he said "that the great crime and folly of the Methodists consist not so much in heterodoxy as in fanaticism —not in perverse doctrine but rather in a disorderly zeal for the propagation of the truth. Upon these topics the clergy of late years have been more silent than is perfectly consistent with their duty."

Speaking of Sunday schools the bishop said, "there was much reason to apprehend a coalition between the Methodists and the Jacobins; the latter, in the depth of their hypocrisy, affecting a zeal for the religious opinions of the Methodists, in order to draw them over to their own political opinions," and he "knew, as a fact, that schools of Jacobinical religion abounded in the country in the disguise of Sunday schools." Bishop Shipley at an earlier date deprecated "providing an instruction which was unnecessary and even prejudicial to the lower ranks of life by giving a taste for enjoyments superior to the offices they must be employed in," and added that "the poor, by contentment, patience and resignation to the will of God and by the exercise of such other virtues as are most

peculiarly proper to a mean and low estate, would find it easier than the rich to be poor in spirit."

Not less remarkable than the view they took of education was that which they took of mission work. Bishop Drummond* of St. Asaph (1748), preaching before the S.P.G. Society in London (1754) a few years after Griffith Jones of Llanddowror had accepted an invitation from the Society to go out as a missionary to India, elaborated the following argument: "that the secondary concern of the Society was to instruct the Indians and the negroes, but that the conversion of any body of Indians was much more out of our power than that of the negroes, while the negroes brought by a strange traffic from Africa to our plantations in America are very little, if anything, worse in their outward condition, and if we do our duty towards them they may be much bettered in their minds. The vulgar error that Christianity makes them free is probably either worn out or insincerely made use of, and an unprejudiced mind would easily see that if these unhappy wretches could be induced to submit their hearts to the influence of Christianity, great security and advantage must arise to their masters."

Bishop Shipley, preaching before the same Society (1773), said that "the first object of the Society was the conversion of the Indians, yet it has happened, contrary to our hopes, that the preaching of the Gospel has been of small efficacy among the Indians, but a promising

* Mrs. Montagu, writing to Dr. Beattie, thus described Bishop Drummond: "I can only say that at his family seat I found him the most of a prelate of any gentleman, and at his palace the most of a gentleman I had ever seen."

field is open to us in our own colonies in North America."

I have given at some length no exceptional extracts from these eighteenth-century sermons. They breathe the spirit of the theology of the century and faithfully echo its conception of an established Church. Their authors maintained an unruffled freedom from creeds and dogmas, and moved among the essential verities of Christianity with the dignified if untrammelled liberty of State officials. They were scholars, and their pronouncements were cast in great blocks of Ciceronian English which never reached, and even if it had reached could never touch, the hearts or the souls of the people committed to their charge. The people knew nothing of their teaching, but they were compelled to feel the results of their administration.

No intelligible and coherent unravelling can be given of the secession, the intense antipathies, the political onslaughts, that waylaid the Church in Wales later on, unless a clear and naked picture is given of the episcopal administration of that Church during the eighteenth century.

It is obvious that the bishops, being non-resident, knew neither persons nor places in their own dioceses. They turned naturally and automatically to the owners of large estates who regarded themselves as possessing a claim in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferment. In Wales, the eighteenth-century landowner was more often boor than gentleman, and his favours went to the priest who shared the coarse diversions and orgies of his leisure with complacency, and

oversaw his moral obliquities with a tender and condoning eye. The clergyman who had been to Oxford wrote the squire's letters for him, and it was a common practice for the clergyman to become the estate agent, a practice favoured by Bishop Bagot "as giving the Church added influence in the country." In Bishop Bagot's own time one of the rural deans in Montgomeryshire held two benefices and was agent to three estates.

For an illustration I turn to Llanymawddwy, where there had been three rectors from 1771 to 1834, all non-resident. The Rev. Edward Owen, rector from 1771 to 1791, lived at Ruthin, and was estate agent to Lord Bagot of Pool Park, Ruthin. The duties at Llanymawddwy were taken by a curate. But the collection of his tithe and other parochial business compelled Mr. Owen to journey at stated intervals to Llanymawddwy. This long journey by mountain tracks was made with discomfort, and not without peril. The journey and the parish business transacted with those simple mountain folk cost at each visit several days' absence from the Bagot Estate Office. Bishop Bagot, appointed Bishop of St. Asaph in 1791, at once took cognisance of the loss and the inconvenience caused by this arrangement to the estate interests of his brother, Lord Bagot, and immediately sought for a remedy. Now, the residence and the estate-offices of Lord Bagot were in the parish of Llanfwrog, hard by Ruthin. Forthwith Bishop Bagot took council with the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Warren, who was patron of the living of Llanfwrog. The two bishops hit upon a prompt and obvious solution

of the problem. The rectors of Llanfwrog and Llanymawddwy must exchange livings. But the Rev. Robert Nanney, Rector of Llanfwrog, said, "No, why should I exchange a benefice of £400 a year for one of £200 a year?" The bishops were equal to the difficulty. The Rev. Robert Nanney was non-resident and lived on his own estate, a long journey from Llanfwrog. Bishop Warren at once informed him that a summons would be issued to compel him to reside at Llanfwrog if he did not do what he was told to do. Mr. Nanney surrendered. The exchange was carried out, and the Rev. E. Owen, the estate agent, took the larger emoluments of Llanfwrog, and Mr. Nanney the smaller income of Llanymawddwy.

The report given to his Bishop of Mr. Nanney, in 1773, by the Rural Dean is as follows: "The Rev. Robert Nanney spent seven years at Cambridge, and has taken no degree. He has an estate of about £900 per annum, part of it in the parish. I wish I could say any other good of him. If your lordship can persuade him to take the benefit of the Act 17 Geo. 3, he may be of service to the Church, but I fear he will never be any credit to it." Mr. Nanney, rector for twenty-eight years, resided on his estate at Dolgelley, a long journey from Llanymawddwy. The duties of the parish were taken by a curate who had been to no university, was married, and had five children. There was no house, and there were no fees. Mr. Nanney paid the curate at first £18 a year, and after protest raised it to £20 a year. The Rural Dean concludes his report of the rector with this caustic sentence, "He (Mr. Nanney)

exchanged portions of the glebe much to his own convenience." Without doubt the two bishops, the agent-rector, and Mr. Nanney—the chief actors in this little parish drama—played their parts openly and would have been indignant if they were censured for performances which their contemporaries in England, as well as in Wales, regarded as customary and defensible.

The practical working of this system was simple and uniform. A clergyman, armed with testimonials from three or more landowners, applied—in person if possible—to the bishop for a vacant benefice. Canon Williams in a report to the bishop supplies the following illustration. When the valuable living of Meifod became vacant (1740), a clergyman procured letters from four neighbouring squires. His suspicions were aroused. He opened the letters and found that, with the exception of one from his own brother, which he had himself written for him, they were of a disparaging nature. These letters he suppressed and wrote others which were duly presented in person by him to the bishop (Maddox), who observed that no young man could have brought a better character, invited him to dinner, and instituted him to the living before his departure. During the fifty-two years (1740–1792) that this man held the living he frequently recounted his exploit with pride. He was a many-sided man. He was an Oxford D.D., a great pluralist, a county magistrate, and Chairman of Quarter Sessions. A keen sportsman, he loved cock-fighting, for which he used his spacious churchyard. "On one occasion he had been unfortunate in his bets

and had lost all his ready money. Being, however, eager to bet upon the issue of another battle, he drew out his watch and offered it as a pledge for £5, upon which a freeholder's wife exclaimed, 'Put up your watch, Dr. Pryce, it shall never be said our vicar pawned his watch for £5. I will lend you £5.'"

The twenty years from 1769 to 1789 were fateful years for the Church in Wales. Dr. Jonathan Shipley was Bishop of St. Asaph during these years. As army chaplain he served under the Duke of Cumberland in 1744 and 1745. In London he mixed much in very fashionable society. He was described "as possessing learning without pedantry, patriotism without faction, and politeness without affectation." He visited his diocese once in every four years, and, like his immediate predecessors and successors, was non-resident. He lived on his own property at Twyford near Winchester. His administration of the diocese and the exercise of his patronage were so typical of the period and the diocese that his record as bishop will supply all the illustration necessary. His son, Mr. William Davies Shipley, ordained deacon by the Bishop of Norwich on March 11th, 1770, and priest by his own father on March 18th, 1770, was appointed by his father on March 19th, 1770, Rector of Ysceifiog; February 6th, 1771, Vicar of Wrexham; April 11th, 1772, Rector of Llangwm; November 13th, 1773, Chancellor of the diocese; January 8th, 1774, Rector of Corwen; May 27th, 1774, Dean of St. Asaph; January 10th, 1782, Rector of Llanarmon. With the exception of

Corwen and Llanarmon he held all these preferments for more than fifty years. He was non-resident from all his benefices. He let out the vicarage at Ysceifiog as a public-house, and the curate, whose salary was £20 a year, was compelled to reside in the adjoining parish. The income of Ysceifiog was £800 a year. He allowed a neighbour to appropriate part of the glebe, observing "that he never would go to law for Church land." When he died in 1826 the church at Ysceifiog had been allowed to fall into such a state of dilapidation that it was unfit for divine service. Canon Williams (father of Rowland Williams the essayist), in his retrospect of the diocese, states that a clergyman named Brown, while shooting with Dean Shipley, received from the gun of the latter a shot which carried off his hand, and that Bishop Shipley gave Mr. Brown the livings of Newtown and of Guilsfield. These instances are luminous and unexceptional. They represent not unfairly the standard in patronage which was acquiesced in by clergy and by laity.

Nor was this standard peculiar to the Church. The example and the influence of Walpole and the Georges familiarised the nation with these methods and practices. It is more easy to criticise than to pass a just judgment upon those so differently situated from ourselves in outlook and circumstance. To the Hanoverian sovereigns the Church was "our happy establishment" and by them and their ministers was treated as a State department. The setting up of the Royal Arms and the Ten Commandments in the churches was regarded as their most significant and essen-

tial ornament, and the claims of dynasty and decalogue evoked an equal measure of enthusiasm. The existence of the pluralist and the non-resident incumbent foretold the fact that the divorce of emoluments and duties would soon be made inevitable, while patrons quickly realised that several benefices could be conferred upon the same individual.

The supreme thought altogether absent was the conception of the Church as a divine society. The English prelates who took their titles and their endowments from Wales, in which they did not live, which they rarely, in some cases never, visited, and to which they recognised no obligations, never seem to have regarded themselves as Fathers in God. Ideals have changed. Within the Cathedral there is a life-size and stately statue "Erected by the gentlemen, clergy, and commonalty of the diocese in memory of William Davies Shipley, Dean and Chancellor of this Diocese for more than half a century." Outside the Cathedral there is a plain tombstone to Thomas Vowler Short,* upon which these words, as he desired, are inscribed: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, for in Thy sight no man living shall be justified."

* See p. 75.

CHAPTER IV

THE METHODIST SECESSION

The nineteenth century opened amid impending changes. Socially and politically the whole centre of gravity had changed. The Methodist Societies unconsciously taught the people the power of combination, and it was a new experience to the villagers to discover that their pence put into a common fund gave them a financial power beyond their expectations. The regularity of their meetings and the formation and enforcement of rules impressed upon them the value of discipline and organisation. These Societies soon developed a central and controlling association. In their earlier years they were purely religious, and there is no record of social or political grievances ever forming a part of their agenda or their discussions. Things changed. As they slowly realised their power they became acutely conscious of their disabilities and inequalities. The age of emotion was passing away, and the old enthusiasm was slowly diverted into new channels.

In the year 1811 the Methodists, hitherto a group of voluntary associations, resolved to ordain their own ministers, "to minister the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper." The older

members of the body hesitated and confessedly did not foresee or contemplate the full significance of that proposal. They were overborne. There were others—a powerful section—who fully knew what they were about. Resolute themselves, they stiffened the resolution of wavering brethren, and they did so the more easily by completely concealing any political bias or policy. Mr. Charles, of Bala, an ordained priest of the Church, was a deeply religious man. But he was a man of limited capacities and imagination. He reluctantly yielded, and when it was too late wrung his hands.

The secession of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales had many points of close resemblance with that of the Wesleyan body in the previous century. The lay preachers of Norwich took it upon themselves in 1760 to celebrate the Holy Communion. That was the first step of secession from the English Church taken by the Wesleyans. This step was consummated and confirmed by Wesley himself when, in 1784, he consecrated two bishops to superintend the Wesleyan congregations in America. After the same manner one of the Methodist lay readers at Denbigh administered the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion and by this action precipitated the crisis. The final step of setting apart these lay preachers to administer the sacraments was not taken without hesitation and many searchings of heart. There was a dramatic incident. Before the decision was confirmed at the final meeting of the Association, one of the leading members, addressing the Rev. Thomas Charles, who was chairman, asked

him, "Which is the greatest—preaching the gospel or administering the ordinances of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord?" Under strong emotion, Charles replied, after long consideration, in a mild and clear manner, "The greatest work is the preaching of the gospel." On his return to his own home at Bala, where this Association was held, Charles, it is said, exclaimed with great regret, "They have conquered me." Charles died three years afterwards. A short time before his death he told his most intimate friends, "The Methodists trouble me. If God spares my life I will go to England again and take a curacy in the Established Church."

We are reminded of Wesley's words in 1789, two years before his death, when he appealed to his followers not to secede from the Church: "In God's name," he cried, "stop! Be Church of England men still."

Charles really expressed the feeling of the majority of the older members of the Methodist Association. When they came to the business of framing their constitutional deed in August, 1826, they defined their denomination in these terms, "That the object of the said connexion (that is the Methodists) hath been and shall be to promulgate the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as set forth in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England." In spite of these sentiments their separation from the Church had by their own action been rendered inevitable. They had cut across all Church authority, feeble and often unworthy as it was. They set at defiance all order and all boundaries, whether parochial or

diocesan. The intensity of their zeal made them regardless of rules and discipline, and the fervour of their own convictions tended to induce an assurance which looked like conceit. An excellent parish priest, who was asked by one of these Methodist lay readers "to grant him his pulpit in order that the parishioners might for the first time hear the true gospel of Christ," not unnaturally felt astonished at the form in which this request was made.

The ordination of lay readers (nine at Bala, thirteen at Llandilo) in 1811 was the result of a spirit partly impatient and partly uninstructed. The authors of this new departure did not fully comprehend its full consequences. Some thought that they might still remain members of the Church, but members with a new and unbridled freedom. This was an ephemeral phase. The clergy and many of the devoted laity who were members of the Methodist Societies withdrew. The situation soon hardened. Trust deeds and constitutions were discussed and drafted, and these matters engaged, if they did not wholly engross, the thoughts and energies of the Methodists. We shall see later on how the promotion of education had become controversial and how its advocates were divided by religion into two hostile camps.

One of the concomitant incidents of the secession of the Methodists was the sudden growth and spread of the Cromwellian (then almost extinct) dissenting bodies, represented by the Independents and the Baptists. The formation of the National Society for "promoting the

education of the poor in the principles of the established Church" took place in the same year as that of the Methodist secession, and in the following year (1812) the British and Foreign Schools Society was formed. The existence of these two opposed societies did much to increase and maintain religious antipathies and to retard education.

In the third and fourth decade of the century the religious influence of the Nonconformists did not increase. John Elias, a devout and greatly respected Methodist minister, shortly before his death in 1841, wrote, "one of the most unpleasant things to me, when I think of leaving this world, is seeing a declension in the cause of God amongst us, though it is said that preachers are more gifted now and that the people have greater knowledge than they possessed formerly, yet though it may be so the great things are lost."

Decline in enthusiasm and membership was apparent. However these things may be, the fact abides that Methodism was the great religious power in Wales at that time, and its severance from the Church changed the whole position in Wales. There were symptoms of reviving life in the Church, but there were terrible arrears to make up. In the year 1790, out of 130 livings in the diocese of St. Asaph there were 43 (the names are on record) in which there was no resident rector, vicar, or curate. In the first twenty years of the century there was some slight progress, but, in the words of Canon Bevan, "the iron age of declension and dilapidation still brooded over the land. At no period perhaps was the Church

at a lower ebb." Undoubtedly the condition of the Church at this epoch favoured the spread of Methodism.

Suddenly and almost simultaneously a new life and a quiet but resolute enthusiasm possessed the Church in Wales. Four men were its authors and leaders. Bishop Thirlwall came to St. Davids in 1840, Bishop Ollivant to Llandaff in 1849, Bishop Vowler Short to St. Asaph in 1846, and Bishop Campbell to Bangor in 1859. They were truly apostolic men. Bishop Thirlwall's coming first rallied the country for the Church. He established order and discipline. He built up the waste places, and he it was who moved the Government to issue a Commission to examine into the condition of education in Wales. That Commission, presided over by Lord Lingen, marked the starting-point in the renovation of the whole country. It brought daylight into dark places, and its revelations and disclosures, if painful, were wholesome. The example was taken up by Bishop Vowler Short in a diocese where the good work had already been begun by his predecessor. Bishop Ollivant, in the vast diocese of Llandaff, where the population was increasing by leaps and bounds, faced its problems with wisdom and courage; while Bishop Campbell, from years of devoted labour at Merthyr, brought sorely needed guidance and energy to the diocese of Bangor. For thirty years or more, by the good providence of God, these four men were spared to build up the Church in Wales.

And now my story goes back to Llanymawddwy, and travelling from 1834 to 1868

becomes of necessity more personal. I have chosen the two parishes in which, during this period, my father worked, to illustrate the changes that were taking place. Llanymawddwy gives a conspicuous picture of a country parish in Wales, and Llangollen a fairly characteristic example of a town parish.

In 1834 my father was appointed Vicar of Llanymawddwy, and it was in the summer of that year that my father and mother paid their first visit to the parish. They reached it, riding across the mountains, my mother riding pillion. There was no carriage available, indeed the road from their old to their new parish was only a mountain track. They long remembered the depressions of that first visit—the church dark and damp, roof and walls showing neglect, broken benches, a mouldering pulpit and a squalid altar, no school, no vicarage house, everything proclaiming the same tale of neglect and decay within and without the church. There was little encouragement from the people themselves. For nearly seventy years the vicars had taken their tithe—as the lords of the manor had taken their rents—and only appeared when they collected it.

The appointment of a new vicar was received by the parishioners with a listless indifference. They were puzzled, however, when they heard that the vicar and his wife were going to live amongst them. The Churchpeople, a small but loyal and resolute remnant whom neglect could not banish nor Methodist revivals entice from their mother Church, rallied to his support and comfort. They made it known that the vicar himself

THE BRYN, LLANYMAWDDWY.

would take the service on the first Sunday after his arrival, and they mustered in full strength. When they entered they saw that some one had swept and dusted the church, that the books had been set in order, the torn altar cloth removed, the old pulpit cushion with its contents oozing out at the corners had disappeared. The vicar was wearing a clean and untorn surplice. He gave out and "started" a hymn—to use the Welsh phrase—before the sermon. While they were singing the last verse a group of Nonconformists, on their way home from their chapel, stole rather sheepishly to the benches next to the door. During the sermon one or two of them, as was the habit of those days, uttered an occasional and approving "Amen," the revival equivalent for "Hear, hear." Before the service ended the vicar announced that a Sunday school would be held regularly. The people were rather startled at this announcement, because there had not been a Church Sunday or day school in the parish, nor indeed in the deanery, for more than half a century. It was a difficult task undertaken at a very difficult moment.

The geographical difficulties were great in a parish seven miles long by five miles broad, dotted with farms and cottages lying wide apart and often reached by almost inscrutable tracks. The industrial conditions were alarming. The farmers in this decade year after year had seen their harvest ruined by rain, and prices for sheep and cattle lowered; the heavy fall in the price of wool touched every farm and cottage in the district. Labourer and farmer were alike in evil plight, unemployment increasing, produce often

unsaleable, wages falling, prices under Protection rising. The building of factories at Welshpool, Machynlleth, and Newtown drew away the domestic industries of the parish. Rumours of Chartist riots in South Wales and nearer home at Llanidloes flew everywhere and grew as they flew.

But these things did not touch the hearts of the people, in spite of their own heavy troubles and anxieties. The Chartist leaders, by their violence and by the atheism of many of their leaders, repelled these country folk. Politics had not formed a leading interest in the lives of these people. They had heard from the only man who took a newspaper in the neighbourhood, about the Reform Bill from time to time, and the knowledge in 1834 that some of their neighbours had become parliamentary voters set them thinking and inquiring. Hitherto the religious revival had provided the romance and the Methodist Sunday school the main interest in their lives. It was altogether a nervous and anxious moment at which to undertake the charge of this parish.

My father was a tall striking man of splendid physique and commanding presence. His dress, and in all such things he was punctilious, was that of the older clergy, a white cravat, a clerical waistcoat, the dress or cut-away black coat, the watch chain with key and seal hanging from his fob. He was a reserved and resolute man, and in bearing and character one to inspire and retain the respect of those who knew him well. My mother was a cultured Englishwoman of high character and enthusiasm. The situation was one to put these qualities to a severe test. The

new vicar and his wife "met the unseen with a cheer." Not within living memory had a Church dignitary of any sort been seen in the parish.

Thomas Vowler Short, an Oxford double first, a former tutor of Mr. Gladstone at Christ Church, became Bishop of St. Asaph in 1846. From that date all things in the diocese were made anew, old churches restored, new ones built, Church day schools set up in every parish, a staff of teachers and a system of teaching twenty years ahead of the times, new vicarages built and old ones made habitable, ordinations no longer a mere formal enlistment, the examination a reality, unfit and ill-educated candidates rejected, a bishop who never turned a deaf ear to any good cause and spent every penny of his large episcopal income upon the diocese—this is a brief summary of some of the things done by Bishop Short, without doubt one of the truest and least-known Fathers-in-God of the first half of the nineteenth century. Five volumes of Episcopal Books, each as large as Liddell and Scott's Dictionary, all in his own beautiful handwriting, are a faultless and exhaustive record of every detail of every parish in the diocese and a priceless treasure to guide and inform all his successors.

Bishop Short, for the twenty-five years of his episcopate, always resided at St. Asaph. With a true conception of episcopal oversight, he first of all set himself to visit every parish in his diocese. It was on an early morning in the summer of 1847 that he rode up to the vicarage of Llanymawddy, where he found the vicar's wife busy in

her garden, and the vicar at work in his study. My mother well remembered this, the first of many visits he paid to her home. He talked to her at breakfast about her flowers, about the Sunday school, and the old women who attended her sewing class, and without rudely blunt questions he discovered the school where she had been educated and the home in which she was born, and was interested to find that she was an intelligent student of English Literature and spoke with ease in Welsh to her servants. Pacing up and down in the garden with the vicar, he went minutely into the details of Church work in the parish and the condition and the character of the people. It was all very new to him. He had hardly yet realised how deeply the revival movement had affected the religious life of Wales.

When the bishop left, one of the vicar's sons, a boy of eleven, showed him the road to Dolgelly, and the bishop was amused by the little fellow asking him whether he thought Cromwell was not the greatest prince that ever ruled England! It was not merely the novelty of the visit but the concentration of thought and inquiry upon the spiritual welfare of the parish that came like a breath of fresh and bracing air to those who had been plodding there for years without any outside encouragement. There had been surprises and fluctuations in the life of the parish, but looking back the vicar and his wife often placed the fifteen years at Llanymawddwy among the happiest of their wedded life.

Soon after this visit, Bishop Short appointed my father Vicar of Llangollen. The charge and

the change were faced with some misgiving. The mountain-locked parish of Llanymawddwy, and the people, pastoral and monoglot, afforded a well-defined and homogeneous sphere of work. It was a new and sudden experience to oversee single-handed a town parish of 5,000 people, of whom barely one-third spoke English and the rest Welsh. The town—no railway had yet reached it—was practically the starting-point for the mail-coaches that still carried tourists along the Holyhead road to Bettws-y-Coed and the Snowdon country. During half the year English visitors, travelling by mail-coach or in their own carriages, crowded and enriched the little town and often on Sundays filled the parish church. Leaving a parish where every one knew and loved them was a moving moment for my parents. The household furniture that suited and filled their old home was sent around by Dolgelly in charge of Richard the gardener, who lived and died in my father's service. The farmers volunteered the carts that carried the furniture. When the morning of parting came the parish turned out to say farewell.

The whole family braved the mountain pass to Bala. They travelled in two carriages, my father, mother and a seven-months-old baby (myself) occupied one of these carriages. The boys, as they climbed the Bwlch cast a last and wistful look at the Dovey. The journey was all new and delightful to them. Great was their excitement when they reached the Holyhead Road and saw for the first time in their lives the mail-coach, splendidly horsed. In after years my mother gave a vivid picture of the journey

and the arrival at their new vicarage. The moment tea was over the boys bounded out to inspect the whole house. Already somewhat overawed by the large entrance hall and dining-room, they soon came back to report to my mother new wonders—such and so many rooms with unheard-of names, morning-room, servants' hall, still-room, pantries, a huge kitchen, larders, laundries and ice-house. One of the boys who penetrated the cellars was puzzled to see wine bottles in what he called bookcases—he had never heard of bins—he had only known wine as a medicine at Llanymawddwy, and he said to my mother that the people who had lived there must have been very often ill, judging by the number of empty bottles.

My father and eldest brother had, meanwhile, gone out to survey the gardens and outbuildings, a large flower garden and glass-houses, stabling for eight horses, coach-houses, saddle-rooms, and granaries. How on earth was poor Richard to use or keep in order all or any of these arrangements ? After all, these things were a puzzle time would solve ; the real problem that occupied my father's mind was the parish. The church itself, founded by a seventh-century saint, had early Norman work in it, and was famous for the chancel roof carved by the Cistercian monks of Valle Crucis Abbey, which was about a mile away from the church. Standing in the churchyard, you see and hear at your feet the divine Dee rushing at this spot "with great passion" through the vale, and beyond the river rises sheer the hill on which stands the British fortress of Dinas Bran.

Inside the church there was much that was hideous—two galleries at the west end, in one a barrel-organ, on the floor of the church large pews like loose boxes, furnished with cushions, footstools and stoves for the upper gentry; a few small pews dotted here and there for the middle-class folk, and rows of hard benches for the "meaner folk" under the gallery. The outgoing vicar, a wealthy man and a county magistrate, was leaving for Flintshire "to dwell among his own kinsfolk and upon his own property"; he was glad to leave for a parish with an English population, and he said, with much frankness, he hoped to succeed better there than he had done at Llangollen, where "he felt it was his duty to make way for some one who was able to administer the affairs spiritual and temporal of the large and populous parish of Llangollen in the native tongue."

The attendance at the parish church at the English services had been small, and there was no Welsh service in the evening, while the chapels in the town were crowded with Welsh congregations. The great majority of the people at Llangollen were Nonconformists. An evening service in the parish church helped to build up a Welsh congregation. It was a good sample of a town parish. Not many miles away two great territorial magnates resided. In the parish itself there were squires of lesser degree, several professional men, a body of well-to-do tradesmen, a large number of hands employed at the woollen factories and hard by in the slate and lime quarries. There were outlying hamlets which

the Church never touched. It was an immense task for one man to discharge. Churchmanship was dormant. The magnates and the squires looked upon the Church as a subservient and useful institution. Two of these people called upon my father at the time of a general election and expressed astonishment, flavoured with surprise if not with indignation, at a firm but courteous objection to give pledges of support.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the landlord at the height of his power. Tenants dared not question the political directions given them by the landlord's agent. The great majority of the tradesmen were zealous Nonconformists, so were the majority of those interested and employed in the woollen factories. But there were encouragements for a new vicar. Early after his arrival he was asked to preside at a Bible Society meeting. The people knew that he spoke Welsh, and they came in crowds, and among them the leading Nonconformist ministers. Some of the Churchpeople regarded this as a new and dangerous departure and communicated their fears and disfavour to the bishop. Even the bishop was a little disturbed, but he was reassured by my father's frank letter, now before me.

Bishop Short visited the parish frequently. One of these visits, six years later, abides as a reminiscence of humour and character. The bishop arrived on Saturday. He came in his stately coach driven by a tall and stately coachman. After the evening meal a fond mother brought in her youngest boy to be presented to the

bishop. The little fellow was rather proud of himself, as he was wearing for the first time a marvellous suit made by the parish clerk. He had just been staring eagerly at the horses and at the splendid coachman in his silk stockings and powdered wig. Ushered into the presence of the bishop, who was short of stature, the mother in presenting him said to the child, "This is the bishop." A silent survey followed, and as a result the child exclaimed, "There is a much finer bishop in the kitchen." It seemed as if the visit was to be marked by incidents of this kind. The bishop, in accordance with his usual practice, visited the Sunday school and took a class of boys, and he spoke to them upon the subject of besetting sins. They listened with more awe than intelligence, which the bishop quickly discerned. So he tried an *argumentum ad hominem.* "Now what do you think my besetting sin is?" Then one boy bolder than the others held out his hand and said, "Drunkenness, sir," and the bishop said, "No, not drunkenness but vanity." True at times he seemed vain, but it was a singularly lovable and really attractive vanity.

On my first visit to Hawarden Castle, Mr. Gladstone, who was an intimate friend of his old tutor, Bishop Short, repeated the story to me and said, "A very beautiful story, if it was true." I then told him the place and occasion. Mr. Gladstone capped the story with another of his own. "When Bishop Short stayed here for the reopening of Hawarden Church, standing before the fire he said, 'Gladstone, I have a theory (a common formula in his Christ Church days) that

all men are equally beautiful, only at different times of their lives. Now,' he said, 'you know my brother William; he was a very beautiful baby, but he is a very ugly old man. Now I,' he said, 'was a very ugly baby'—and there he stopped," said Mr. Gladstone laughingly. Abundant stories survive of Bishop Short's quaint and most lovable humour.

But to return to the vicarage of Llangollen, the bishop was pleased when he heard about the parish. The Sunday school had trebled, the day school was being filled beyond its capacity, and children dribbled in from the British school. A new church for the Welsh people was provided, and mission services were held in distant parts of that very large parish. The parish church itself was restored at a considerable cost by a distinguished architect, Mr. Pountney Smith. The vicar was instant and undaunted in ministering, as far as it was possible, not only to the people gathered around the church but to outlying hamlets. For twelve years he was single-handed, and the strain of work began to tell. Then there were the home anxieties. I well remember the day when the news reached my parents that the family solicitor at Shrewsbury had defrauded my mother of an anticipated bequest which would have helped to educate the younger children. It was clear that my father, nearing seventy, was failing in health. He had worked with wonderful patience and courage, and he was deeply respected by all classes in the parish, where he was never known to have said an unkind word or to have done an unkind thing.

Perhaps a son will be pardoned for quoting

descriptions given of my father and his home by George Borrow, the author of *Wild Wales*, who made Llangollen his head-quarters during his Welsh visit. The house in which he and his wife and niece resided was close to the vicarage grounds. As a child I remember, in the autumn of 1854, the bells were set ringing and all the factory hands left their work to form a cheering crowd in the streets on the news (untrue, as it proved) that Sebastopol had fallen. I can see my father and George Borrow, both of them tall men, walking up and down the garden discussing and doubting the accuracy of the rumour. George Borrow, in *Wild Wales*, thus describes his visit to the vicarage:

"We had received a call from the Vicar of Llangollen and his lady; we had returned it, and they had done us the kindness to invite us to take tea with them. On the appointed evening we went, myself, wife and Henrietta, and took tea with the vicar and his wife, their sons and daughters, all delightful and amiable beings—the eldest son a fine intelligent young man from Oxford, lately admitted into the Church, and now assisting his father in his sacred office. A delightful residence was the vicarage, situated among trees in the neighbourhood of the Dee. A large open window in the room in which our party sat, afforded us a view of a green plat on the top of a bank running down to the Dee, part of the river, the steep farther bank covered with umbrageous trees, and a high mountain beyond, even that of Pen-y-Coed, clad with wood. During tea Mr. E. and I had a great deal of discourse. I found him to be a first-rate Greek and Latin scholar, and also

a proficient in the poetical literature of his own country. In the course of discourse he repeated some noble lines of Evan Evans, the unfortunate and eccentric Prydydd Hir, or tall poet, the friend and correspondent of Gray, for whom he made literal translations from the Welsh, which the great English genius afterwards wrought into immortal verse."

The last of his many references to my father and brothers describes the evening he spent before he finally left Llangollen. "In the evening we went to the vicarage. We had a very pleasant party; and as most of those present wished to hear something connected with Spain I talked much about that country, sang songs of Germania, and related in an abridged form Lope De Vega's ghost story, which is decidedly the best ghost story in the world."

MY FATHER.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL AND PARISH

I REMEMBER the autumn of 1865. For the first time in his life my father fainted, and my mother in her alarm called in a famed physician in the district. His verdict was precise. "He may possibly live for five or six weeks." A specialist from Shrewsbury was then summoned. "The heart is the trouble—there is ossification of the valves. Does your husband take any stimulant?" —these were the words of the specialist after his diagnosis. "No—he never takes any stimulant," was the answer. "Then he must do so," was the specialist's order. The sequel may be worth recording. Rather reluctantly the patient obeyed. He lived on for three years, only during the last year was he an invalid. Three or four months before the end the breathing became sorely difficult, he could no longer lie down and could only sleep and rest in his chair. He loved us to read to him. His mind remained clear to the last moment, and his gentleness and courage never forsook him. No complaining word ever passed his lips, worn and weary though he had been for long months. The one anxious thought he ever expressed was for my mother and myself, his youngest son.

At the end of May (1868), he was by his own wish carried down to his library, which faced the south and the mountains. It was a pleasant room. On a Sunday morning in June, 1868, the sun was pouring in. My father was sitting silent and still in his chair, looking wistfully to the hills. The bells rang out for the morning service. Suddenly he seemed to awake as from a dream. He raised his clasped hands, the lips moved in prayer, and on that strong face there came a sweet smile as it were the light of heaven, and so he fell on sleep. His death made the first gap in the family.

I must go back for a space and give here some personal reminiscences, but they can be succinctly recorded. Eight years before my father's death, for one year (August 1860 to July 1861), an elder brother was classical master at Llandovery School, and for that period of time I lived with him and attended the school, in fact this one year was all the schooling that I ever had. To a boy of twelve with eager eyes and bounding spirits that year was full of new experiences and the beginning of some friendships. Of the school itself it is unnecessary to speak. One incident which, strange to relate, was indelibly engraved upon my boyish memory is so picturesque that I think it worth describing. The boys attended Llandingat Church, of which the Rev. Joshua Hughes, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was the vicar. The pupils were all taken one evening to a harvest-home service when Parry of Llywel was the preacher. His fame was great throughout Wales. A short little man draped in a heavy

black gown, he stood like a statue in the pulpit. There was no straining of the voice, scarcely a gesture beyond just the majesty of the hand. The Welsh was perfect, and there was a surpassing ease and grace of diction in the sentences so simple and yet so polished that flowed in a wonderful harmony.

"Unpreparedness" was the warning note of his sermon. The arguments with which he opened his discourse fell into their places naturally and spontaneously like well-disciplined regiments, and the whole movement seemed to reach its climax in a story which, with engrossing detail, enchained the hearers and illumined with a flash-light the moral of his sermon. A shipwrecked sailor reached his home on the Cardiganshire coast, and as he narrated to a crowd of relatives and friends the horror and the suddenness of the gale that wrecked his vessel, "You must," exclaimed an awe-struck listener, "have fallen at such a moment on your knees and sought God's help and pardon in prayer." "Oh, no," said the sailor, "we were too busy with the sails and the pumps to think of such things then." More than sixty years have passed since then, and have not dimmed the impression of that service and sermon. Looking back over life and recalling the speakers I have heard from time to time, I still believe that Parry of Llywel was one of the greatest natural orators I ever heard. Trick or artifice had no place in his oratory; its effect was not only magnetic but magical. Llandovery was left in 1861. The necessities of the situation kept me at home, where I was of some daily use and where meanwhile I

picked up for myself in my father's library oddments and varieties of information, and these fragments of knowledge, disconnected and ill-assorted as they were, proved of some value later on. A bare possibility of entering the medical profession diverted my reading for a time in that direction.

On the death of my father, I began under the tuition of a brother to read for Oxford, where, after a year's preparation, I matriculated at Jesus College with an exhibition. In this epoch of inflated prices it may be interesting to mention what seems strange to-day, that my total income at Oxford for my first year was £75, for my second £105, and for my two last years £140. The first year my battels slightly exceeded my income, but in the second year I was elected to a scholarship which ended my financial anxieties and indeed enabled me to save a little money. In June 1874, I took my degree and was appointed second master at Llandovery School, then, owing to a variety of causes, at the lowest ebb in its history.

The following year the head master resigned, and by his recommendation I applied for the post. The ruling spirit among the five appointing trustees was a lady. As soon as she heard of my candidature, the warden was requested to send me over to be inspected. Lady Llanover was devoted to Wales and the Welsh language. When I arrived at Llanover Park, her butler, with the name and the wisdom of Daniel, received me in the native language. Ushered into the deciding presence of the great lady, I got through the interview, and as I left I replied to her kind invita-

tion to take some refreshment before starting on my homeward journey that the "Pentrulliad" had already asked me to do so. I saw at once that she had failed to recognise the name given in the Welsh Bible to Pharaoh's butler. A few days after my return, the warden told me that he had heard from Lady Llanover, who was greatly impressed with my knowledge of Welsh. My gratitude to Pentrulliad is sincere. I was appointed warden and head master in May 1875. There were only two other candidates.

Few cared to face the rather hopeless condition of the school. The boarding-out system had made discipline impossible. The masters were supposed to invigilate the boys in their lodgings. As second master my first experience of this task was instructive. Not a boy was in his lodgings. Much puzzled, I heard on my way back, in one of the streets, boisterous laughter from a long-room attached to one of the inns. I seemed to recognise voices, and climbed up the staircase to a room where I found the whole school seated at long tables and smoking, and presided over by the head boy, who, by the way, later on proved to be a tower of strength to the school and by this time occupies a position of much dignity. Here at any rate was one explanation of the low estate of the school. The condition of the buildings I first realised when I became warden. The whole place was ruinous and derelict. Only one dormitory was fit for boarders, the two other dormitories had never been plastered and were used for storing potatoes and geraniums. The rooms in the head master's own house were in a deplorable condition.

The salary of the head master was £135 a year and a house, and the tuition fees of £8 a year. Clearly the outdoor system must at once be severely limited if not entirely abolished. To this the trustees gave their consent. The school buildings, like the master's house, were in a wretched condition, but the rooms were large, and if put into repair might be made adequate and comfortable for a large number of boys. Then there was the solid fact of an endowment of £500 a year for assistant masters, and this was an invaluable nucleus. There were other grounds for optimism. Wales was athirst for education. But in spite of many favourable signs the outlook for Llandovery School was dubious enough to daunt the most ardent.

The first term was tremulous and anxious—only twenty-seven boys in the school, of whom three had soon to be sent away. Before the middle of the term drains made themselves known, and two out of the three boarders were down with diphtheria. An expert discovered that the drains emptied into an ancient and undisturbed cesspool under the floor of the entrance hall. The rest of the term was concentrated upon making the buildings sewage-free. The cost of all this fell upon the warden. At this junction a dear old banker friend, who had known me all my life, lent me £300 without any security. This was the only money I ever borrowed in my life, and I adventurously spent it in offering higher salaries and thereby securing a highly qualified staff. Things prospered and numbers increased rapidly. Thus elated, I invited the Lord Lieutenant of the County to

preside at a coming Prize-day. After several weeks an answer came from Cannes, "Sir, I never presided at your institution, and never intend to do so." I replied with "humble apologies for my presumption, and with regrets that what I had intended as a compliment had been interpreted as an insult, but my excuse was that I thought the only first-grade school in the county would not be without some interest to Her Majesty's representative." A few months afterwards the Lord Lieutenant wrote me thus: "I have founded two Golden Grove Scholarships in your school. Do you now believe that I take no interest in education?" From that day his kindness was unbounded. The Prize-days brought some distinguished visitors.

Dr. Harper, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, took the opportunity of a Prize-day to announce his scheme for throwing open scholarships and exhibitions at Jesus College, a scheme which probably saved the college from extinction. In 1883 the school had the honour of welcoming Dr. Vaughan, Master of the Temple and Dean of Llandaff. That year the honours list included several open scholarships and exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge—among them an open scholarship at Balliol—and ten higher certificates from the Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board, in which the school gained, I believe, the highest number of distinctions in advanced mathematics obtained by any of the public schools in England. In his speech the Dean said, "it had been thought an enterprise beyond the power of man to create in the nineteenth century one of the

great public schools of England. He thought they had shown that, difficult as the work might be, the work could be done, and it was a noble thing to stand in an assembly of that kind before they had celebrated their first jubilee, and to be able to congratulate them upon the great success they had achieved." These words came from one whose presence and influence on the Council of the Cardiff College gave the Church a place in the Welsh educational movement unattained before, unsurpassed and probably unequalled since. These things are quoted not for admiration but as links of importance in the history of education in Wales. Three years before Dean Vaughan spoke at Llandovery the Liberal Government, supported by a large Welsh contingent, appointed a Committee, presided over by Lord Aberdare, to inquire into the condition of intermediate and higher education in Wales and Monmouthshire. For brevity I shall refer to it as "the Aberdare Committee."

The ten years (1875 to 1885) of my wardenship at Llandovery came at the very beginning of the great educational movement in Wales, and to those interested in Welsh education that decade of work at Llandovery yields a harvest of significant facts. When I gave evidence in 1880 before the Aberdare Committee there were 178 boys in Llandovery School, there were 111 boarders, 160 were born in Wales and 18 in England, 86 could speak Welsh fairly, 15 indifferently, and 77 only English. Of the 86 Welsh-speaking boys 37 came from Welsh-speaking homes, and 49 from English-speaking homes. The social status of the boys at the school was as

follows: sons of tradesmen 27, tradesmen with private houses 24, tenant farmers 13, freehold farmers 13, clergymen 33, professional men 38, officers 6, private gentlemen 24. The poorest parents were among the tradesmen class. Classified denominationally, 125 belonged to the Church, and 53 were Nonconformists. The subjects of instruction were those usual in any first-grade school. All the boys learnt Latin, 172 learnt Greek, 62 French. In Latin and Greek composition in the more advanced stages the Welsh boys were distinctly slow in acquiring anything like taste and idiom.

It is noteworthy that up to that date the Hertford or Ireland Scholarship during the previous twenty-six years had never been gained by a Welshman, while out of the twenty-six Junior University Mathematical Scholarships awarded from 1854 to 1880, 15 per cent. were gained by Welshmen, and of the twenty-six Senior Mathematical Scholarships for the same period 19 per cent. were gained by Welshmen. Those figures seem to establish the fact that up to that date Welshmen excelled more in mathematics and science than in classics. Welsh boys showed great aptitude and intelligence in at any rate the elements of philology. In mathematics nothing but a favourable account can be given of the Welsh boy. Mathematics having no language at all, or rather a language of its own, enabled the Welsh boy to start fair in the race, and the lack of early preparation was less apparent. The rapidity with which the Welsh boys picked up mathematics was phenomenal. The same may be said of their

progress in science. With a most primitive laboratory, Mr. C. A. Buckmaster achieved wonderful results at Llandovery. Of the 178 boys then in school seventy-four intended, if circumstances permitted, to enter Oxford or Cambridge.

In the ten years 1875 to 1885 the number of boys under education at Llandovery was 512, and the subsequent history of those out of the 512 who had entered upon a career was as follows: 53 had gone to Oxford or Cambridge, 64 to business, 53 to the Church, 44 to the medical profession, 35 to the law, 23 to agriculture, 21 to banks, 13 to the colonies, 12 to the scholastic profession, 10 chemists, 7 sailors, 4 soldiers, and 4 engineers. During the ten years under review the following honours were gained by pupils of the school: seventeen scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge, and thirteen exhibitions in Mathematics or Classics or Science or History. In addition to these results, a number of minor honours were gained at other seats of learning.

In comparing the education of to-day with that of forty years ago, without being tempted to hazard perilous generalisations, there are solid differences worthy to be specified. The school furniture and buildings of to-day in any council elementary school are incomparably superior to those in the best first-grade schools forty years ago. The syllabus of instruction in a secondary school to-day is multifarious compared with that of four decades ago. It is true that the boys who entered Llandovery School came with a very imperfect knowledge of English Literature. Mr. Charles Williams, second master at Llandovery

School, in his admirable evidence before the Aberdare Commission, gave the facts in detail. In his own class of thirty boys, "their knowledge of the chief English poets is infinitesimal. The other classes tell the same tale. Many boys of fifteen when they entered the school had never read a line of Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Byron, Longfellow, or Burns." It may be that the man who knows something of two languages is better educated than the man who only knows one. But it remains a fact beyond dispute that an imperfect knowledge of English was a serious bar to a boy's progress at school, and at the university.

My own general impression is that the present system of education in council schools in Wales is not so thorough as the education given in the best of the old first-grade schools. The most important subjects are continually in danger of being suffocated by a crowd of new subjects and new methods which are being imposed upon head masters for adoption. Nor is that all. The energies of the head master of a council school are too often exhausted by a multitude of arid forms which the modern machinery of secondary education compels him to fill up. The experience at Llandovery supplied valuable evidence on two problems, still of importance in Welsh education. Lord Bryce, more than fifty years ago, in his report on Welsh education, spoke in high terms of eulogy of what was known as the "lodging-out" system. Boys at Llandovery up to 1875 were allowed to lodge out in the town. Fifteen years before that date, as a boy and subsequently as a master, I had

seen the system at work. In my opinion it enabled a youth (generally *serus studiorum*) of small means to secure education at a very moderate cost, and I have known steady and hard-working youths of this type who did more work in their quiet lodgings than they might have been able to do in a large boarding house. On the other hand, they rarely met their schoolfellows except in the classroom, so that on the whole I incline to the view that what they gained by study in the isolation of lodgings was more than counterbalanced by the loss in social intercourse with their schoolfellows.

The courage, resourcefulness, and public spirit which school life ought to elicit and foster were often absent in these youths. For the average boy the system was unsatisfactory, and for one boy it helped it was a detriment to many. This problem does not acutely affect to-day the Welsh county schools, where day-boys form the great majority, but it has a distinct bearing upon our university colleges, in which, compared with the older universities, *esprit de corps* and social life are less powerful and stimulating.

The second problem upon which light was thrown is that of religious teaching and influence. Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., a member of the Aberdare Commission, asked me whether it was fair that the first-grade schools should be in the hands of the Church of England. I replied that the pupils probably did not know whether it was a Church of England or a Nonconformist school, and that the rules of the school gave the pupils the fullest freedom and opportunity to attend the places of worship desired by their parents, who were

invariably informed of this rule when they brought their boys to the school. Parents frequently asked, "Where do the majority of the boys go?" I said, "To Church." "Oh, then, let my boy do the same," was the general answer.

I made it my business to see the minister of any denomination attended by boys in the school, and asked him to inform me as to the boys' attendance. The Aberdare Committee in their report said that "the evidence proved that no constraint was put upon Nonconformist boys either to accept the teaching or to attend worship inconsistent with their religious principles." With laudable candour they added that "indirect Church influences, even legitimately operating, are as much feared as the enforcement of regular religious observances of a denominational character." The report recognised that "as regards their legal status the Welsh Grammar Schools generally are undenominational." They recommended that "religious instruction shall be confined to the reading and explanation of Holy Scripture, and shall not include instruction in the doctrines or formularies of any church, sect or denomination." Finally they suggested that in the present state of public opinion it would undoubtedly be considered by many as an additional security that the headmasterships of intermediate schools should be filled by laymen.

In an added memorandum, Mr. Henry Richard, in giving his own views on religious instruction, said that in all schools receiving grants from public sources instruction should be "confined to secular elements," the duty and responsibility for

the religious training of the children being left to the parents and to the ministers of the different denominations. That plan, as he expressed it, would also be attended with the advantage that the conscience clause, "with all the humiliations and heartburnings to which it gives rise," would be altogether dispensed with. He saw the difficulty of his plan in boarding-schools, and said that in his opinion it would be better that intermediate schools receiving aid from public funds should be day schools. Mr. Richard, a commanding figure among Nonconformists in England, was their supreme leader in Wales. The policy he laid down on religious instruction was most loyally carried out in the intermediate and elementary (council) schools in Wales. My experience at Llandovery impressed me profoundly with the conviction that Mr. Richard was wrong and that the fear of those indirect influences was political and not parental.

It must not be forgotten that the Aberdare Committee did two things for higher education in Wales. Their report was parent of the University of Wales—with its four constituent university colleges of no mean rank. The second boon which Wales owes largely to that report was the Welsh Intermediate Education Act—passed years ahead of that for England. The most brilliant, because as events have proved the most foreseeing, evidence which that committee evoked from Churchmen was given by Principal Jayne, of Lampeter, afterwards Vicar of Leeds and Bishop of Chester. Asphyxiated for fifty years, Lampeter had broken the spirit of one distinguished professor after

another. Rowland Williams, the essayist, one of the most eminent Welshmen of his time, was the first to succumb. With Jayne as Principal and Charles Edmonds as his noble helper, Lampeter entered on a new life of usefulness and of incalculable benefit to the Church. Jayne stood alone in advising those responsible for the future of Lampeter to remove the college to the immediate neighbourhood of one of the new university colleges. He was overruled. Without a murmur, he threw his whole energy—and it was great—into a scheme for enlarging the college and opening out new fields of study.

To one who knew him for more than fifty years —first as tutor at Oxford, then as Principal of Lampeter, and finally for thirty years as Bishop of Chester—it is impossible ever to forget the man and his work. Perfectly unselfish and self-effacing, he was no lover of great places or of great people. From Lampeter he sent forth to the Church in Wales men who are to-day a real source of strength. In the assemblies of the bishops he never sought "a foremost place" and rarely spoke. No courtier and no great admirer of courtiers, he had the courage of a true man, and while he never sought followers he made friends who loved him and trusted him to the uttermost. Jayne's work and influence at Lampeter, now an old story, are relevant to any record of the history of education and of the Church in Wales. In both spheres of activity he was a far-sighted and inspiring leader, and it is sad to remember that his ambition to give his life's service to the land of his birth was never realised.

Before I quit Llandovery School, I give its record in the words of the Aberdare Committee: "The school may be ranked among the most efficient in Wales, but, as will be seen from the return, the amount of accommodation is not really sufficient for the numbers now attending, and additional buildings must be provided if any further development of the school is to take place." That result was achieved by a staff of distinguished scholars who shared the anxieties and kindled the enthusiasms of the place.

To Llandovery I owe my first experience in clerical work. I was accepted as a candidate for ordination by Bishop Thirlwall, ordained by Bishop Basil Jones, and licensed upon a title given by the Vicar of Llandovery in 1874. The vicar gave me a valued share during my diaconate in all the work of the parish. As head master of the school I was, by the vicar's kindness, permitted to hold in one of his two churches a service for the school, which the parishioners also attended, and I was privileged to do some visiting among the poor and to share in the management of the National school.

Judged by modern standards, the parish presented contrasts that recall George Eliot's description in *Adam Bede* of Irwine and Ryde. The vicar had been for many years incumbent of the Welsh church in London, and married there a lady of social and artistic distinction. They joined hands after their meridian, and without controversy they were a supremely happy and unique couple. She played the organ and had occasional "flights." It was a mixed choir in

which the one diehard was an estimable artisan. That metallic voice always made its mark, and when the "flights" came it was at its best. On one unforgettable Sunday morning an anthem was announced. The organ burst forth and the choir sounded the alarm. It was the Hallelujah Chorus. Soon organ and choir were confounded—one shy voice after another grew faint and died away. That metallic voice which had never before quailed survived but only for a few minutes. Then the organ, discovering its solitude, stopped as if stricken. The congregation resumed their seats. Never had anthem made such an impression.

The vicar also contributed incidents of another kind. There was a service held on Thursday evenings, variously announced as "there will be Thursday evening," or sometimes "no Thursday evening this week," or he gave out in a kindly falsetto, "Our Sunday school treat will be given next week. I wish every teacher to bring with him a good plain cake." For many years I was on the management committee of his National school. He hated figures, and every year his cheque cleared off any deficit. Form IX was a nightmare to him. One year he asked me to the vicarage to help him to fill up this monstrosity. He brought out a pile of vouchers from all the corners of his crowded and disordered study. I set to work on his balance-sheet. Before examining the vouchers I gently pointed out that on the credit side of his ledger he had entered a debit item. "Ah," he said, "I put it there because there was more room." I passed the balance-sheet, as did the Government inspector, knowing that

its author was an honest man. One can almost hear the exclamation of a modern Churchman, "What a vicar, and what a parish!"

Here is the simple record. The vicar, by name John Evans, was in reality beloved by every man, woman and child in the parish. His faith was the breath of his life. The people knew his care for the sick and suffering, his bounteous kindness, his wise counsel in their troubles, which he never discussed or revealed. He was blessed with strong common sense. His word, they all knew, was steadfast. They would not have changed him for the most brilliant clergyman in the diocese. He was a human being who took a shrewd interest in the things that occupied the thoughts and the labours of his people. The children thronged him in the playground and were a delight to him. The very sight of him was a gladness as he rode about the parish on his grey pony, a beautiful frolicsome creature. He did not conform, I dare say, to modern clerical ideals, but at any rate he left to his people an example of Christian faith in action and to his successor a parish in which party strife and bitterness were little known.

I had spent eleven full years at Llandovery. Unsought changes of work were offered to me. The strain of work, never inconsiderable, had in my last two years at Llandovery been increased by a great sorrow, and I accepted the post of private secretary to the Bishop of St. Davids and the Vicarage of Carmarthen. This combination gave me plenty to do and to think about.

Carmarthen, the Roman Maridunum, was not

without a history. St. Peter's Church bore the marks of many centuries. In olden times it was not only the county town but the social centre where the surrounding gentry had their town houses and "came up for the season." In one of the streets there were a number of these town houses. These memories gave the place and its inhabitants a certain air of distinction. I was happy in succeeding a vicar who was a devoted parish priest, gentle and considerate in all his ways. One problem had troubled him. The organ and the choir, encamped far away in the west gallery, sometimes lost touch and time. He quite wisely would have organ and choir brought down to the east end. But there were obstacles. The rectorial tithes were in the possession of a lady who firmly said, "My chancel must not be touched." The vicar, in his patience and loving-kindness, suffered the obstacle. It seemed that the thing ought to be done and the quicker it was done the better. So it happened.

When the removal was finally resolved upon an episode of more than local interest occurred. At the Reformation the splendid tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Dinefawr and his wife had been brought from the monastery of the Grey Friars in Lammas Street and placed within the sanctuary of St. Peter's Church. If the organ were brought down from the west gallery this famous tomb must be removed to the south aisle. Sir Thomas ap Rhys at the head of the South Wales Tudors proved the foremost supporter of the Earl of Richmond. True, Sir Rhys had given his

pledge to Richard III that only over his body should an invader enter the country. His conscience "busilie knawing" at this pledge was appeased by the Bishop of St. Davids and the Abbot of Talley, who advised him "to lay himself prostrate on the ground for the indubitate lord of us all" (Richmond) to make an easy entrance over him. This he did, and met Richmond when he landed at Dale in Pembrokeshire. Sir Rhys mounts his charger Llwyd-y-bacse (Grey-Fetter-Locks) and on the field of Bosworth slays, so tradition goes, the fierce and vigorous monster Richard III.

The night before this famous tomb was to be again removed, the caretaker of the church (she had held the post for many years) sought me trembling—she had a terrible secret to reveal. Her predecessor had inherited with his office the right arm of Sir Rhys, which had been stolen when the tomb was removed from the Grey Friars' monastery, and it had been kept ever since in the church tower. Visitors, at a substantial fee, were allowed to gaze upon the right arm that slew a King of England. I consulted Lord Dynevor, the head of the Rhys family, and Dr. Rowlands, a distinguished inhabitant of Carmarthen. The tomb was opened and the right arm was found missing, but the "show arm" did not fit!

Carmarthen was a live parish. The Church-people were zealous and progressive. The work was thoroughly congenial and the kindness and the confidence shown to me by my parishioners made my three and a half years at Carmarthen one of the happiest times of my life. Encouraged at

every step by my Diocesan, I found some of the old enthusiasm coming back. To serve under Bishop Basil Jones was a privilege. The most unimpressionable could not fail to feel the influence of his character. His learning and ability the world knew of; few, however, knew that a reserved and somewhat austere manner concealed a surpassing sympathy and insight. My reverence and gratitude for all I owe to him are great.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROGRESS AND THE PIONEER OF DISESTABLISHMENT

It is relevant to my story, and perhaps instructive for others, to distinguish and estimate the forces that translated the disestablishment idea into action, and to stake out as far as possible the line of march along which the disestablishment army advanced.

A survey and scrutiny of the whole field of action establishes two important facts. The first Revivalist leaders frowned upon any suggestion or movement hostile to the Church. "No sincere Methodist (wrote John Elias in his diary) can be opposed to the Established Church or to paying tribute and tithes to support it. Its ministers were the most celebrated instruments in the commencement and advancement of Methodism in Wales." In 1834 a concourse of 500 Methodist ministers at Bala passed unanimously a resolution deprecating the severance of the National Church from the State. In no recorded utterance of the first leaders of Welsh Methodism is there a single phrase of political reference or bias. When they died the Revival began to wane. Under later and weaker leaders there appeared excesses and unrealities for which the fathers of Welsh

Methodism could not be held responsible. It may be that in the fervour of their missionary zeal they overvalued revivalist methods and overlooked the reactions and hypocrisies latent in those methods.

The year before his death John Elias, as already stated in a previous Chapter, recognised that there was a reaction, real and felt. The great mass of the people were uneducated and, as I have already indicated, the social and economic condition of the country was disturbing, if not alarming. The general conditions of life for the toilers were a burden too heavy and constant to be charmed away by the spell of the revival preacher, or the ecstasies of a revival concourse. Born of the inequalities and insecurity of those times, there was deep down in the hearts of the middle and labouring classes a passion for brotherhood and betterment, and a great mass of the Welsh-speaking people found comfort and hope in the fervid enthusiasm of Methodism.

But the Methodists were not the only enthusiasts. Robert Owen, a typical Welshman, sought a remedy elsewhere. Working on the Clyde in the cotton mills of David Dale—foremost among philanthropists and social reformers—Owen became manager of the mills, married Dale's daughter, and in the management of the mills applied the socialist theory of Dale. After putting these theories to the test of experiment in Indiana, where his son followed him and rose to fame, Owen returned to England in 1827 and by his books and lectures he gained many adherents to the principles which he proclaimed

in his "New Society." It cannot be said that in those troubled days he helped much to compose difficulties, but he did much to set men thinking.

In 1846 the condition of the principality came before the House of Commons, when a motion was adopted praying Her Majesty to direct an inquiry into the state of education in the principality of Wales. As a result of that motion a Commission was appointed to hold such an inquiry. Bishop Thirlwall, in writing to his clergy, said that the object of the Commission was to collect the fullest and most accurate information for any measures which the legislature might adopt to improve the condition of the principality, and he urged the clergy collectively and individually to furnish the commissioners with every kind of aid they were able to afford. The commissioners, of whom Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lingen was chief, visited every school and educational institution in Wales. The inquiry made was searching and personal. Minute details touching the history and condition of the schools, the subjects taught, the fitness of the teachers, the fees paid, were carefully tabulated and published, and the date of the visit to each school and the names of the witnesses were recorded. Evidence was tendered by magistrates, ministers of every denomination, teachers, farmers, tradespeople and parents.

The school buildings were held on a precarious tenure, only 12 per cent. being legally secured for educational purposes. The miserable and unsuitable character of the buildings in which

the schools were conducted appears in all the reports. Mr. Lingen describes part of a dwelling-house used for a school, "a room lighted by one small window and so dark the children were obliged to open the door for light." One school held in the mistress's house was so ill-ventilated that the hot, sickening smell struck the inspector on opening the door. Another school he described as held in a ruinous hovel of the most squalid character; "in summer the heat of it was said to be suffocating; the vicar's son informed me that he had eighty children in this hut." No attention was given because no importance was attached to ventilation, and in a large number of schoolrooms utter disregard to cleanliness and decency was shown. Mr. Lingen writes, "It is a disgusting fact that out of 692 schools I found 364 utterly unprovided with any sanitary arrangements." All the commissioners were unanimous in their report on these points.

The teachers—90 per cent. being untrained—had in the great majority of cases been brought up to some other calling, and had taken to teaching after failure in that calling. Their previous occupations are enumerated; some had been soldiers, farmers, excise-men, mariners, farm servants, colliers, carpenters, seamstresses, domestic servants, milliners, and so forth. The average stipend was £22 10*s.* 9*d.*, and the average age was forty. The position of the majority of the schoolmasters was mid-way between that of a pauper and a labourer. Innumerable instances are given of the gross ignorance and unfitness of the teachers.

Reading was the principal subject taught,

and the Bible the one text-book used. Writing was charged as an extra, the parent providing the copybook. Arithmetic was an extra. Geography was taught in a few superior schools, and then only "in very minute quantities." The commissioners say, "The prevailing belief was that Ireland is a town somewhere near Wales. France has been placed by turns in each quarter of the globe. Black people have been assigned to every country except Wales." There was no syllabus of instruction either in theory or in practice. One teacher being questioned as to the time given to each subject, answered Mr. Lingen thus: "You see, sir, when I reads 'em hard, I spells 'em less, and contrariwise just as they pleases me."

The discipline in the schools can be illustrated by a typical incident. Of a school containing 208 scholars the commissioner reports thus: "Neither master nor scholars appeared to have any idea of manners or discipline. The boys sat lolling luxuriously with their hands in their pockets and answered or not just as they felt inclined. In the meantime all business was abandoned by the rest, who collected themselves in groups looking on and talking. I could with difficulty walk across the room without catching the saliva which the boys were spitting in all directions—not through disrespect but from habit."

The evidence on the religious instruction in the schools is instructive. "Next to no religious instruction is given in the day schools, whether in schools in connection with the Church or the

dissenters or private adventure schools." All the commissioners are emphatic in regarding the Catechism as "valueless in teaching, and only of significance as marking out Church schools." Mr. Lingen uses these words: "I rarely or never found the Catechism taught to any purpose. When I asked a class, Can you tell me what the word 'sacrament' means? not one replied. When I asked, 'What meanest thou by this word sacrament?' the whole class simultaneously answered." No school register was kept. The teachers in general appeared perfectly helpless when asked for the number on their books. The only record was that of the school pence, and the list therefore of the children was kept as a debtor and creditor account. The school pence were sternly exacted by the teachers and the child sent home on Monday morning if the pence were not produced.

More than 50 per cent. of the children remained in school less than a year, and in the girls' school the pupils were almost always farmers' daughters. The incomes of the schools were derived—two-thirds from school pence and the rest from endowments and contributions. The evidence given by representatives of all classes—Nonconformist ministers, clergy, magistrates, professional men, and tradespeople—was emphatic and unanimous on the question of morality. Judge Jones said that "immorality exists to a considerable extent between the sexes, chiefly among farm servants. The main cause is perhaps imperfect arrangements in the older farmhouses." The extent and the character of this evidence need not be repeated. It is enough to

say that premarital unchastity was not regarded as a disgrace. All the evidence went to show not depravity so much as a general absence of any sense of the wrongness of sexual immorality among the young unmarried people. This unchastity in its first breach almost always happened under a promise of marriage, and was treated as lightly as adultery is regarded among the wealthier classes in our own day and generation.

I have examined at length these Blue books. The commissioners were trained experts and abreast of the educational ideals of their day and generation. They saw Wales with their own eyes and heard with their own ears what Welshmen had to tell them about their own country. The result was not an impressionist picture but an enlarged photograph. The standards of life, character, and knowledge that obtained in Wales were recorded without passion or bias. This record supplied indispensable links of continuity and laid bare the roots of influences and movements that dominated Wales during the next half of the nineteenth century.

As a matter of history, the publication of these Blue books was for Wales a revelation and a turning-point. Wales had just passed through six decades of intermittent religious revivals. The fervour of those earlier years gradually died down, and the younger generations, while they enjoyed the excitement and the emotion of the revival crowds, were not permanently renewed in heart or conscience. But there was an awakening of a different kind. Mr. Lingen recorded "a very general move through the dissenting bodies to

procure education for themselves independently of religious tests." The revivals may in a limited sense have proved morally infertile, but without doubt the desire for education among the lower-middle and working classes in Wales had its first beginnings in those Sunday schools where the people were exhorted to learn to read in order that they might be students of the Bible. Hence it was that the Bible was the text-book for reading in both the day and Sunday schools. Two far-reaching and different results followed immediately upon the publication of the Blue books.

Bishops Thirwall of St. Davids, Ollivant of Llandaff, and Vowler Short of St. Asaph—among the most distinguished prelates in the English Church—at once set to work to give practical effect to the lessons taught by the Blue books, and for the next thirty years they established Church schools throughout Wales. They enlisted all the resources of the Church, and the work they accomplished during those thirty years laid the foundation for a national system of education. But another and a very different result of the publication of the report followed. "The treachery of the Blue books" was the phrase in which the indignation of the Welsh Nonconformists found expression. The commissioners were accused of having "branded with lasting infamy a whole people—than whom there is no population more enlightened and moral or more exemplary in all the relations of life." The Commission was described as "an attempt to discredit the cause of Nonconformity by blackening the character of the Welsh." "The commis-

sioners represented the people as grossly ignorant, depraved and brutal in order that they might have the satisfaction of ascribing this—their evil case—to the immoral teaching of Dissent."

Superfluous to say that there is nothing in the Blue books to justify these statements, which were made by Mr. Henry Richard, and it would be indeed belated to disprove them, but they produced wonderful effects. The ire of the Nonconformists raged wildly, and the pride of the nation was touched. The effect upon the religious life of Wales was serious; it exacerbated the relations of Church and Dissent into an implacable hostility. Great was the ferment. Latent and unsuspected forces were suddenly aroused to life and action, old wounds reopened, long-nursed grievances and resentments disclosed. The shock and surprise convulsed the whole country. "Wales was made a reproach to her neighbours and her land a perpetual hissing." The dissenters had welcomed the Commission and in their innocence gave it every help and candid information. Imagine their feelings when they were told by their trusted leaders that the whole thing was an artifice and a design of the "evil one" to prove to the world that the horrid immorality of Wales was due to their teaching. The nation was stung, and the sting brought out a spirit of nationality hitherto dormant or quiescent. The Report of this sincere and well-intentioned Commission had angered and almost maddened the people whom it had come to benefit and bless.

In truth it was a turning-point. Wales, ignorant, expectant, athirst for something new,

was unorganised and unconscious of its power. Now in the white heat of its indignation, it was molten and ready to run off into any new channel. One man saw the opportunity. Let us hear who he was and how he used it. His history is the key to the history of Wales for the next thirty years. Mr. Henry Richard, son of a Methodist minister in Cardiganshire, after serving as a draper's assistant, left his Welsh home for Highbury Congregational College. In 1837, when he was twenty-five years of age, he was appointed minister of a Congregational Chapel in London, and from that date until 1888, when he died, he lived entirely in London. Few details of his ministry are given either in the Welsh or the English biography—"he was not an extempore preacher, but turned the leaves of his manuscript so deftly that the listeners scarcely observed the turning."

In 1850 he gave up the ministry and the title of "Reverend" and became secretary of the Peace Society. This post took him abroad, where he met Victor Hugo and Elihu Burritt, and in London brought him into close association with Cobden, Miall, Carvel Williams, and Nonconformist leaders into whose political projects he threw himself with enthusiasm. He took up journalistic work and described himself as "interpreter of Wales to England." A flaming denunciation at Crosby Hall of the Report of the Commission of 1847 was followed by trenchant and vigorous articles in the London Press on Welsh subjects. His speeches and his writings, published in London, were translated into Welsh. They were the

marching orders of every dissenting preacher and deacon, and were heard in every chapel in the principality.

In 1862 practical work began by the holding of a Liberationist Conference at Swansea. At that meeting Mr. Richard said, "I assert without hesitation that the living, practical Christianity which to so large an extent prevails in this country (Wales) is owing entirely to the influence of the voluntary principle, for whenever spiritual fire burns in the Church of England itself in Wales, it is to be traced to stolen embers from the altars of Dissent. Churchmen imagine that the country is theirs, and that we exist only on sufferance. Hence the mingled resentment and disdain with which they look down on the persons of dissenting ministers. But this is a gross misconception; the country is not theirs, but ours; we claim it as a rightful possession. It is ours by spiritual conquest. Our forefathers found it overrun by the enemies of all truth and righteousness, and that because of the neglect of its official guardians; and when the Nonconformists and early Methodists went forth to reconquer the land, the clergy of the Established Church were foremost in opposing them. It is ours by spiritual cultivation. There is no population on the face of the earth more thoroughly instructed in religion than are the people of the principality, and this is to be attributed not to the State Church, but to dissenting ministers and Sunday schools."

In his essays he selects the Church in Wales as "a crucial example of the utter abortiveness of an Established Church." The Methodists who

called the Church "their old mother" had long hankered after the communion they had left, but "few things are less likely than that they will ever seek their religious nourishment from the somewhat withered breasts of their old step-mother." Religion had been his first enthusiasm, and when as a young man of twenty-five he left Wales to spend the whole of the rest of his life in London he carried with him only the memory of a Church that was almost derelict. These utterances after thirty years in London are the echo of his early experiences. In 1862, Mr. Richard, to use his biographer's phrase, "was brought into public relations with his native land when the Liberationist Conference was held at Swansea. Messrs. Miall and Carvell Williams then met 200 representative men resident in South Wales. At that meeting Nonconformists were urged "to organise politically under the auspices of the Liberation Society." A full report of the Swansea conference "was scattered broadcast over the principality and paved the way for an effective organisation of Welsh Nonconformists in the interests of religious equality." Pointing to Mr. Richard at the conference, Mr. Miall said, "Here is your man." So he was! He fairly set the heather on fire, and for the next thirty years he diligently fanned the flame. With well-directed enthusiasm, and aided by the guidance and funds of the Liberationist Society, he organised the ministers and leaders of the Nonconformists throughout Wales.

They proved zealous and ubiquitous agents. Thus unconsciously and almost stealthily the

revival zeal was diverted into political channels. Mr. Richard was an ideal forth-teller of the ambitions of the political Dissenter. He imported from London and made current in Welsh politics a clear, concrete, bewitching scheme of severance and spoliation. He had learnt in London the secret of political organisation, and Wales soon shared his secret. He struck two notes which remained dominant to the end. The first was a note of concord—"demand this change as a nation"; the second was a note of discord—"sever this Church because it is an alien Church."

Figures and scandals were the weapons forged for the assault. For figures he took the sittings in all the places of worship in Wales, and calculated the attendance at each place of worship from the number of sittings in Wales. A ridiculous assumption! From this assumption he proceeded to calculate the relative proportion of Nonconformists to Churchmen as thirteen to one. The scandals he recorded were gross in the extreme. These scandals occurred in 1565 and were quoted by Mr. Richard in 1865 to prove that the clergy were "ignorant, irreligious, and immoral." For the next twenty years the figures and the scandals reappeared again and again in the disestablishment speeches. The figures grew until in some districts the Nonconformists were more numerous than the population. The scandals, 300 years old, were repeated without dates. To relieve the monotonous blackness of these disclosures, Mr. Richard produced a list of the blunders by English dignitaries who tried to speak Welsh. These might have been made more humorous.

Whatever may be thought of his methods, his influence grew, and though living in London he was firmly established in Wales as keeper and director of the Nonconformist conscience. The first-fruits of his efforts appeared in 1868, when he was elected member for Merthyr Tydfil. I frequently saw, heard, and met him during that election. A short, thick-set Welshman with a resolute mouth and keen eyes, he delighted the Welsh people with the purity and beauty of his Welsh and with bursts of real eloquence. I do not believe that any political leader in Wales has ever commanded among the Nonconformists an influence so unchallenged and so profound as the influence at that time of Mr. Henry Richard.

At the close of the session in 1869, Mr. Richard moved a resolution condemning the Welsh landlords who had evicted tenants or had raised their rents because they voted for the Liberals at the last election. Some of the chief offenders, whom he indicated, were present in the House. The main facts in his indictment were not disputed and revealed cases of extreme cruelty and tyranny. So awed were the alleged offenders that one of them, it is said in Mr. Richard's biography, "almost swallowed his pocket handkerchief" (bron wedi llyncu ei gadach poced). The debate undoubtedly contributed not a little to the passing two years later of the Ballot Act. Mr. Richard made a great impression on the House. He spoke with dignity and self-restraint, and his speech, in the language of a leading English newspaper, "was brave, eloquent, and without a taint of the conventicle in manner, tone, or language."

Flushed by their success in Ireland, the Liberationists had now turned to England. They saw the magnitude of their task, and, to use the metaphor of Dr. Salmon, they knew full well that "the Church of England is too big a mouthful for her adversaries to swallow whole, so their plan is to eat the artichoke leaf by leaf." Strategically the Church in Wales was an ideal bridge-head for the attacking party to seize. Time was of the essence of success, and after much counselling a resolution to disestablish the Church in Wales and to use its endowments for undenominational education was moved in 1870, in the House of Commons, by Mr. (afterwards Justice) Watkin Williams.

His speech stands alone in all the recorded speeches of the Welsh Liberationists in Parliament. The speech was truthful, straightforward and without a note of bitterness. "The Church establishment in Wales is an ancient and venerable institution; it is not like the Church in Ireland, an alien Church." He even regretted that there were no reliable statistics available. "Let us have," he said, "next year a census." An official census was the one thing which, for the next fifty years, the Welsh Liberationists resolutely opposed. Mr. Richard and those who followed him declared that they were moved by a sincere desire for the spiritual well-being of Wales and of the Church in Wales. Here, again, Mr. Watkin Williams spoke with candour. "It is said that if the Church were severed from the State, it would be undoubtedly for the benefit of the Church. I wish to give every possible effect to the opinions

of my Nonconformist brethren, but I must declare that I do not follow them in this. I am not at all prepared to say it is clear that the Church would benefit by disestablishment, and further, I do not quite understand why the Nonconformists should so completely disclaim their desire to see the Church less powerful than it is, because if they believe, as they must do, that they are in the right and that the Church is in the wrong, why should they not wish to humiliate the Church ? "

Mr. Gladstone immediately followed Mr. Watkin Williams, with the result that Mr. Richards' speech remained undelivered until the following year, when he spoke upon Mr. Miall's motion to disestablish the Church of England. Mr. Gladstone's speech was unexpected and its influence was profound and far-reaching. Twenty years passed before Welsh disestablishment, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Liberationist Society, found a first place in the official programme of the Liberal Party. During those years the Welsh disestablishment resolution appeared annually in the spring, but it hardly flowered and never bore fruit in that period. On rare occasions Mr. Gladstone intervened, stung at one time by advocates who proved strangers to faith and history, at another by Sir John Gorst's arctic defence of the Church, or by the brilliant but expiring jibes of Lord Randolph Churchill. So unassailable was his influence over the Welsh members and people that while he cast a blight upon their designs he continued to command their allegiance.

Mr. Richard died in 1888, and his leadership had already passed into other hands. He repre-

sented a school of thought in English politics which was already declining in influence, but commanded among opponents the respect due to a man of high character. He belonged to an eminent group of Nonconformists whose early enthusiasm for religion had been wholly translated into politics. This transition is illustrated by the history of the Liberation Society, whose meetings began with prayer and finally became absorbed in politics.

BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH, 1889.

CHAPTER VII

THE TITHE WAR AND THE TITHE ACT

On February 14th, 1889, Lord Salisbury wrote to me that he had Her Majesty's permission to ask me if I would be willing to accept the vacant See of St. Asaph, and he added "that after a somewhat protracted examination of the qualifications of all those clergymen whose names had been suggested for the vacant See, I am convinced that there is none whose selection would be of so much advantage to the Church of Wales in its present difficult position, and I hope, therefore, earnestly that you may see your way to undertake the duty." The letter was a surprise because the *Times* on the previous day announced officially, as it seemed, that a distinguished clergyman connected with Wales had been appointed.

I fully realised the great responsibility of accepting the offer, made doubly great by the critical position in which the Welsh Church was then placed. But it would have been unreal and insincere if I professed any fear or hesitation as to my decision. I was not insensible of shortcomings and deficiencies. But I knew the difficulties that beset and the problems that awaited the Church in Wales, and I accepted the offer. Coming to St. Asaph was in a sense coming home,

and I entered upon my work without the delay that would be inseparable from entering upon work in a strange country and with people whom one had never heard of. For centuries the enthronement of the Bishop had been a mere form without any ceremony.

The position in which the Church stood evidently inspired the clergy and laity to make this an opportunity of showing their loyalty and devotion. The Cathedral was packed to its utmost limits, and crowds had to be content to watch the procession outside, and to hear the service through the open doors. At the luncheon which followed, the clergy and a large number of laity were entertained. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and Sir Francis Jeune, chancellor of the diocese, spoke, and in replying to the welcome given me I mentioned the bilingual difficulty as a perplexing problem, and defined, as I understood it, the duty of the Church in this matter. I ventured to conclude by saying that meetings for Church defence were all very well, but the most telling Church defence argument in the world was a well-worked parish. The day was a great demonstration of loyalty to the Church, all the more valuable because it was quite impersonal. Thus encouraged, I went forth to the work that lay before me. That summer was occupied with confirmations and parochial visits. My first months I spent in a Montgomeryshire rectory in order to become acquainted with that distant part of the diocese.

In the autumn the Diocesan Conference met at Rhyl, and the crowded attendance was due to

the critical position in which the Church then stood, for in May of that year a disestablishment resolution had been negatived by the narrow majority of fifty-three. Referring to the tithe question, I expressed the hope that the Nonconformist ministers would not hold their peace when they saw the disgrace which the tithe riots were bringing upon Wales. I said our duty was plain; come what might, we would steadily go on with our own work even though that work had, as in the days of Nehemiah, to be carried on by builders every one of whom "hath his sword girded by his side." Mr. Raikes, Postmaster-General at that time, in a speech of rare eloquence did what he could to encourage the clergy, and, speaking for the Government, held out a hope that another attempt would be made to deal with the tithe difficulty.

Queen Victoria selected that summer for a visit to North Wales. Her Majesty desired to see the house in which Sir Theodore Martin had written the life of the Prince Consort. Bryntisilio Hall in the Valley of the Dee commands one of the loveliest views in that lovely valley. Looking from Sir Theodore's study window you see the Dee winding through a theatre formed by wood and mountain and gathering its deep and silent waters into a broad expanse before it leaps in foam over the weir at the head of the Berwyn gorge. During her stay in North Wales Her Majesty occupied a modern house higher up in the Vale of the Dee.

On Saturday August 24th, the Queen, driving to Wrexham through the mining districts, received

there addresses from the clergy and various public bodies. Before the Queen arrived, the Mayor of Wrexham had entertained at lunch the distinguished company who had assembled from all parts of North Wales and from the border counties, and there was an impromptu garden party in the Mayor's beautiful grounds. A local lady, whose name I did not catch, graciously accosting me, said, "We have a noble church at Wrexham." "One of the seven wonders of Wales," I interjected. "Our vicar," proceeded my unknown friend, "is a truly good and holy man, and we all respect him. But I love pomp, and I like more display and ritual in the services." My silence elicited a new train of thought. "No doubt souls are being saved, but as *you*, my lord, know, that is not everything." It was a difficult moment. A sudden movement of the crowd came to my rescue.

That evening I was commanded to dine with Her Majesty. The Court and the guests assembled in the hall. The Queen bowing to her guests led the way into the dining-room. Six Welsh harpists played during dinner in the hall. Her Majesty asked a question about St. Asaph, and bid me tell her what "God save the Queen" was in Welsh. This done, she said, "What is 'Queen' in Welsh?" "Brenines." "Yes, but that is not the word you used before." I explained that the change from "Brenines" to "Y Frenhines" was due to the "initial mutations peculiar to Welsh." "It must be a very hard language to learn. How like is it to Gaelic?" "About as like as Greek is to Latin." The

Queen turned to the programme of the Welsh tunes the harpists were playing, and "Morfa Rhuddlan" caught her eye. She made two or three attempts, and with a laugh gave it up "as very difficult."

She asked many searching questions about Wales and the Welsh. "Are the people more quiet and contented now? They are naturally a contented people, are they not?" To this I assented. She then asked, "Do they eat oatmeal here as they do in Scotland?" "Yes, in this county (Merionethshire), where it is prepared as a special kind of porridge called uwd." I then had to explain to the best of my power how it was cooked. The Queen was sorry to hear that the Welsh hats which the women wore in Wales were going out of fashion. The royal eye was observant. "What was the origin," she asked, "of the name Esclusham which I noticed as we drove to Wrexham?" She then made inquiry about the people who had presented addresses. "Who was that old gentleman in academic dress who was presented to me?" I replied, "The Bishop of Bangor." "But he did not come with you." "No, your Majesty, there was some little difficulty and confusion just at the moment, and the Bishop got mixed up and was presented with the Nonconformist ministers!" The throne of England shook with laughter. I noticed her great consideration. "Tell the harpists that they can begin playing now; ah, perhaps they are not ready, and it would hurt their feelings, so only tell them to begin when they are ready."

Dinner over, all followed the Queen into the

drawing-room, where the harpists were arranged outside the door. One little incident in the drawing-room was amusing. When coffee was handed round, the Queen's cup was taken to her on a small salver. At the first Royal sip I saw there was something wrong. She gave the servant a look and he rapidly vanished with the coffee. One of the household said that she never spoke in reproof of her servants, but just gave them a look, a specimen of which we had seen. After listening to the harps for nearly an hour, she was evidently tired, and beckoned that the harpists might go, but hearing from Princess Beatrice that the old man whose nine sons were the performers would be disappointed if he did not sing, she said, "By all means let him sing," and for another ten minutes she listened to him pouring forth Pennillion (*impromptus*) in a piping voice. So ended the evening. Princess Alix and Prince Henry of Battenberg were of the party. I had a good deal of conversation with the Princess, afterwards Czarina of Russia. I thought her one of the most charming, as she certainly was one of the most beautiful, girls I had ever seen. She was greatly interested in the Welsh coracle, and wanted to know exactly how it was propelled. The service on the following morning was held in the hall. The hymns chosen for the service by Princess Beatrice were sung by members of the St. Asaph Cathedral Choir.

I turn from this gracious visit to the record of a painful, if not humiliating, chapter in the history of Wales. It would be untruthful to ignore and unwholesome to palliate the tithe war. The

years 1888–1890 were grim and minatory. The bitterness of the political oratory and the exacerbation of the sectarian temper were then endemic in Wales. Often when priest or bishop met Nonconformists he was received with a scowl, and these Welshmen, hitherto kindly and courteous, declined even "to tell the road" and passed on with a muttered oath. These things were the bye-products of the tithe war in Wales. The occasion and the causes of that outbreak, the incidents that marked its progress, the sufferings of the clergy, the peaceful settlement achieved—all these things may well be written for the learning and the warning of Church and country in England no less than in Wales. There was agricultural depression in Wales in the later 'eighties, but less acute than in English counties where a large part of the land was arable.

On the political side there was great activity. The objective of the Liberal Party in Wales was specifically formulated early in 1888 by Mr. Stuart Rendel. "The position we have chosen to assail is the English establishment in Wales; until that is carried we ought to undertake nothing else." Mr. Stuart Rendel was not a Welshman, or directly connected with Wales. Like Mr. Parnell, he read with a clear eye the political possibilities in Wales. His war-cry rallied the Radical party, hitherto stumbling under inferior leadership. Irish Home Rule, never wholly palatable to Welsh Nonconformity, had seemed for a space to chill if not to check enthusiasm. Instantly all was changed. The tithe war, like the French Revolution—*magnis*

componere parva—started with a question, "Why pay tithe?" Soon Disraeli's phrase, "to an alien Church," was added. The question spread like wildfire. The disestablishment party realised at once that here was a weapon ready to hand which must bring a quick victory to their cause, and every encouragement was given by the political leaders to those who wielded this weapon. The Welsh *Baner*, edited by a Nonconformist minister, spread the war in almost every Welsh-speaking parish. There was a tell-tale uniformity in the plan of campaign. The methods and the motive power came from outside. Two or three suitable persons —frequently men of no character—were chosen as agents for a parish or district. A tenant farmer, often a widow, was selected to refuse payment of the tithe. Much correspondence followed with the tithe-collector, and the poor incumbent at last was compelled to distrain for or to forfeit his tithe. All this was foreseen and preparations made accordingly. The distraining party arrived at the farm, and in the twinkling of an eye a crowd gathered.

The *Baner* (the editor was frequently present on these occasions) thus describes a typical case. "That man (the tithe-collector) has been distraining and selling in the parish of Llanferres where he and his famous bailiffs were baptised in a pool of cow's filth. All sorts of horns were blown, drums were beaten, the noise was almost unbearable, and the crowd increasing every minute. The farmer's wife paid the tithe, and then gave the tithe-collector a blow on his face, for which she received deafening cheers." The

papers announced that a straw man, in imitation of the parson, would be burnt on a given day. There was tested evidence of parodies of religious services, and in more than one instance there was "a very profane travesty of the outward circumstances attending the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the order of the Church." These outrages must have been, and I believe were, exceptional, but they abide as irrefutable proof of the passions and profanities by which the Liberationist Party sought to infuriate the people.

Meanwhile the position of the clergy was well-nigh desperate—insurance-premiums sometimes dropped, sometimes paid by selling the clergyman's library, children taken away from school. In addition there were the personal insults and outrages inflicted upon the clergyman himself. One night he would have his door covered with coal-tar, and on another he had to endure the yells of a crowd who were burning him in effigy before his own house. Parcels with loathsome contents and threatening letters bearing in phrase and substance the marks of a common origin, reached him almost daily by post. More than one clergyman died under this combined strain of poverty and obloquy. The clergy excelled in patience and courage, but most unnerving for them was the darkening council that "they should bear one another's burdens and remit their tithe" to persons who refused to pay it not from poverty but for political reasons. Lawlessness was afoot throughout the land; the outlook for Church and clergy was dark.

One fact was beyond dispute or denial. The clergy were on the verge of starvation. Clearly relief to the starving clergy was the first—and an instant—necessity. A letter to the *Times* of a few lines, giving the facts, brought in funds that gave relief for the most urgent cases and supplied means for protecting the clergy. The next practical step was to meet the other side. There was one parish, the seat of the most organised opposition and the scene of the most blasphemous excesses; the rector at my request reluctantly invited the tithe recusants to meet me at the rectory.

They all came, respectable-looking Welsh farmers. A few words of greeting in Welsh with each one, and then we sat down to business around the rector's dining-table. Asked in turn why they refused to pay the tithe, they all with one consent made the excuse of poverty until the question reached an intelligent-looking, well-dressed man, evidently not a farmer. His reasons, oratorically stated, were political, and it transpired in our conversation that he only paid a few pence in tithe. The question came at last to a man, evidently the buffoon of the parish, whom the leaders had used as the chief figure in a blasphemous travesty of religion. It was clear that the majority of those present were ashamed of him. So ended the colloquy. In briefly thanking them for their presence, candour and courtesy, I mentioned that ample funds were now at my disposal to meet the situation. The tithe was paid, and the interview cheered the clergy,

encouraged the honest, and puzzled the ringleaders.

But it was self-evident that voluntary effort could only offer a temporary remedy and that parliament must deal with a mischief so deep-seated and widespread. Three Bills were introduced. The Bill of 1889 was read a second time in July and passed by a majority of fifty-seven votes, but it soon became clear that the Bill was in danger, and I wrote to Mr. W. H. Smith pointing out the urgency of the matter. His reply from 10, Downing Street, dated 23rd July, 1889, showed very clearly the political situation. He wrote, "I am very sensible of the sufferings of many of the clergy in Wales and I hope it may be in our power to pass the Tithe Recovery Bill this session, but it is met by very determined opposition on the part of the disestablishment faction, and it is not supported warmly by many Conservatives, whose farmer-constituents have suffered much from bad times, and who look consequently for a revision of the conditions under which tithe is paid without regard to the injustice of such a demand. The question is therefore one of extreme difficulty for the Government, as they cannot count on the undivided support of the party behind them."

The Tithe Bill of 1889 was withdrawn. Lord Salisbury granted me a private interview, and some weeks afterwards requested me to prepare a full statement of the difficulties and the sufferings of the clergy during the tithe agitation. This statement was carefully prepared and given to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who

was to be in charge of the next Tithe Bill. I was reassured by the conviction that Lord Salisbury and Mr. W. H Smith were determined if possible to pass a Tithe Bill in the coming session.

We now come to 1890. Sir Michael Hicks Beach introduced in February the Tithe Rent-charge Recovery and Redemption Bill, which was read on March 28th a second time by a majority of 125. The debate revealed formidable rocks ahead. An amendment that tithe was national property was moved in order to raise the disestablishment question. More formidable still was the attitude taken by the Conservative members from Essex and Dorsetshire, where the tithe question was almost as acute as in Wales. The opposition to the Bill rapidly gathered strength, and notice of several instructions was given before the Committee stage was reached. I had frequent interviews in May and June with Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. W. H. Smith, then leader in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone had taken no part in the debate, although the preamble which enabled the Welsh members to raise the question of disestablishment on the second reading was the result of his suggestion, made, I have reason to believe, in the hope that the Welsh members, having thus had their opportunity of discussing the main question upon which they were interested, would offer a less formidable resistance to the Bill in Committee.

At the request of Mr. W. H. Smith, I had an interview with Mr. Gladstone, which took place at 10, St. James' Square. I explained that the

object of my visit was to ask for his support for the Tithe Bill. He accepted both my contentions—that tithe is a property that should not be frittered away, and, secondly, that it was hard that the spiritual influence of the clergy should be weakened at the cost not of their temporal possessions but of their temporal necessities. The method of recovering tithe was quite distinct from that of its appropriation. Mention was made of a book written by a gentleman named Wordsworth advocating the total remission of the tithe, which, as the law then stood, would be for the benefit of the occupier. Mr. Gladstone said that few if any members of the House of Commons held this view, and he himself entirely disagreed with it. The Welsh members, he said, would complicate the tithe discussion with that of disestablishment. The appropriation clauses in the Irish Tithe Bill during the short Government of Sir Robert Peel were referred to, and he asked several questions about the provisions of the Tithe Bill. Was it recoverable from occupiers like the Queen's taxes? Who was to supply money for compulsory redemption? I said I thought the Treasury. He replied: "Well, that is possible after this monstrous Irish Bill. This principle of Treasury loans, which originated in the House of Lords, was," he said, "a most dangerous and socialistic principle."

Why was tithe trouble greater in St. Asaph diocese than elsewhere? I gave a history of the Land and Anti-tithe League and told him about the difficulties of lay appropriators in schools and colleges. This was a most interesting fact. Before

leaving I said, "May I ask a question that grows out of that of tithe? Do you think the time has come for us to put our house in order in Wales?" "Well, Bishop," he replied, "I will speak to you with perfect frankness. It is quite impossible to give any definite forecast of what may take place. The case of the Scotch Church is quite different from that of the Welsh. With the exception of the fabrics and the manses, which belong to the heriots, a bill for Scotch disestablishment could be drafted in the time it would take to make the speech in which to introduce it. It is impossible to say this in public, but the theological position of the Scotch establishment is simply ludicrous. The Scotch establishment preserves nothing of the Scotch Reformation except the mere form. I replied (he continued) to a correspondent in 1866 that the question of the Irish Church was not within the sphere of practical politics, and I am charged, I know, with having played false in this matter, but what I meant by 'practical' was the next parliament. The whole conditions then were quite different to what they are now. The public mind was perfectly stagnant then upon all the great questions. The Clerkenwell outrage just gave the necessary fillip to bring the matter at once to the front. The day after the murder of the Manchester policeman I said the Irish Church must be disestablished. Conditions now are quite different. The public mind is thoroughly awakened, and there is nothing likely to precipitate it into sudden action. Vested interests are to be carefully preserved, whilst disestablishment cannot come before Home Rule. The passing of Home

Rule will clear the air. Then there will be great jealousy between Scotland and Wales as to priority. The position of the Scotch Church is really indefensible. Its defenders never advance any arguments in its favour, but simply impugn its opponents. Lord Hartington [and this he said laughingly] is unable to stick to his original opinion. The Welsh Church stands on wholly different ground. I have told my friends that I don't think they at all realise the difficulties and almost impossibilities that will arise in dealing with the Welsh Church. The Welsh Church has undoubtedly improved immensely. Many Welsh clergymen have told me that some forty years ago the clergy were drawn from the same class as Nonconformist ministers, and that only the dregs of that class went into the Church because under English bishops the Welsh clergy were excluded from the highest preferments, and the best men preferred the open market of the Nonconformist ministry, but (he added) I do not think that is true now." I interposed a remark about the care of the poor and the preservation of doctrinal standards by the Welsh Church. He said he thought I was right on both points. After a good deal more conversation, he got up and showed me a painting of Dr. Dollinger, of which he had just come possessed. It was a splendid likeness but he did not know the artist. As he stood at the half-open front door, he bade me good-bye with these words: "I feel very sanguine about the ultimate destiny of the Church in Wales whatever happens."

The Bill went into Committee in June, and it soon became evident that the opposition would be

resolute and prolonged. On June 30th a telegram reached me from the Archbishop of Canterbury: "Can you come up at once? Matter of urgency."

Upon my arrival in London I was told to see Mr. Gladstone and ask him if he would write a letter which I might show to Sir William Harcourt, deprecating unreasonable opposition in Committee. I undertook the mission with fear and trembling. Mr. Gladstone saw me in his room in the House of Commons and received me with his usual courtesy and kindness. Full of very real sympathy with the clergy in Wales he listened attentively to the facts which I reported, and finally said he would write the letter, which I venture to give in full.

"House of Commons,
"June 30th, 1890.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

"Mr. Smith recently invited me to hear from him some words on the tithe bill, and to make such answer as I could with regard to the prospect of passing it in this session. I told Mr. Smith that I thought it would be useful if the Welsh members were allowed to propose words for the preamble. Those words (which I should personally support) would be, of course, rejected by a majority, but the Welsh members would have had an opportunity of expressing their ideas, and in my opinion the debate on them would not be likely to interfere with the reasonable progress of the Bill.

"I also told him that though I had no sufficient means of forming an opinion on the probable duration of the discussion on the Bill, and though as

to the feeling in East Anglia I was entirely without such means, yet as far as Wales was concerned I was under an impression that there was not the same preparation for, or disposition to, organised resistance as there had appeared to be last year.

"Further, I said that a good deal would depend upon purely legal points and on the preparedness of the Government lawyers to make good their ground in relation to those points.

"The 'impression' which I made known to Mr. Smith has rather been confirmed than otherwise by reflection.

"I have no prepossession adverse to the transfer of liability to the landlord or to the abolition of distraint and substitution of another remedy. Not having precisely the same point of view as many of my friends on this measure, I have less than usual to say on or to their movements. But I need hardly state that nothing like encouragement would be given by me to anything which at all exceeded the limits of fair discussion.

"I remain, my dear Lord Bishop,
"With much respect,
"Very faithfully yours,
"W. E. GLADSTONE."

When he had read me the letter down to the word "movements" I was bold enough to ask if he would add a word to discourage obstructive opposition in Committee, and with a smile he added the last and essential words.

I gave the letter forthwith to Mr. W. H. Smith, who, to my surprise, was disappointed because Mr. Gladstone had not said that he would use his influence to get the Bill through Committee. I thought, and still think, that the letter was most

valuable, and said all that could reasonably be expected.

One of my interviews was with Sir William Harcourt, to whom Mr. Gladstone had suggested that I should state my case. The first thing Sir William said to me, when I told him my business was: "What is the use of your coming to me, bishop, when you are in danger of being eaten by your own hounds?" This referred to the opposition from the Conservative members from East Anglia. With his legs thrown across the arms of the chair, he entertained me for half an hour with half banter and half argument, and as I left he summed the position up with a pleasant scorn. "The fact is, bishop, the Tory party will always defend the Church so long as they only are allowed to rob it." This, my first and only interview with Sir William Harcourt, was kindly and amusing, and left me with the assurance of his complete indifference to the merits of the case. The result of all these efforts was vain. The Bill was withdrawn. Protests, petitions, private letters addressed to private members occupied the energies of churchmen during the recess. Meanwhile the situation in Wales grew daily more threatening and seemed more hopeless.

For the clergy it was a breathless moment. An inevitable general election was at the door, and the forecast prophesied a great Liberal victory. The Liberal leaders in Wales hit upon an excellent "war-cry." "Hold on," they said to the tithe-rioters, "a little longer, and victory is certain." The "Anti-tithe League" knew full well that a Liberal Government would not be zealous in

enforcing the payment of tithe to the clergy. After the withdrawal of the Bill, I had an interview with Lord Salisbury and then with Sir Michael Hicks Beach. There was no change or weakening of their resolution. A new Bill was introduced in November, 1890. The Welsh members opposed it at every stage with doubtful indignation and undoubted ability. But the Bill was placed on the Statute Book on March 24th, 1891. Henceforward, the landlord and not the tenant paid the tithe. So the curtain dropped upon a play which began with the tragedy and ended with the farce. The war of "principle" was over, and the high temperature in Wales fell as suddenly as it does in acute illness after the crisis. The passing of the Tithe Act and the circumstances that begat it are of more than local reference. There was tithe trouble in Essex and Dorsetshire, and the farmers in those counties were in greater straits than their brethren in Wales.

The Act was a boon to the Church in England and in Wales. Wales and Ireland had had their tithe war, and the similarities and dissimilarities in the origin and circumstances of both are of some interest. The alleged grievance of paying for the support of a religious communion to which they did not belong incensed the Irish and the Welsh dissenting farmer, and the remedy of making the duty of payment fall upon the landlord removed that particular grievance. In both countries thirty-five years elapsed between the tithe war and disestablishment. In Ireland when the war broke out (1831) the Irish clergy were denounced by priests from the altar and "branded

as the worst enemies of the people, who were told to hunt them like mad dogs from the country; they were insulted wherever they went, many were attacked, some were murdered." * It is on record that in the Irish tithe war in Queen's County alone sixty murders were committed in one year.

The kindness and goodwill which had hitherto prevailed between the Protestant clergy and people in Ireland were changed suddenly to insult and hate, and the friendly relations were never fully renewed. In Wales there were no murders or assassinations; there was shouting but no shooting. There were disgraceful scenes, scandalous speeches, and inflaming articles. The attitude of the Nonconformist ministers was, it must be admitted, ambiguous. Keen for disestablishment, they saw in the tithe war a most powerful lever. Many were forcibly silent. The greater number refused to be ashamed. A few bravely reprobated the excesses of the tithe agitators. In Ireland, it is said "that during the troublesome times of the tithe war the landlords looked on with indifference, and showed little sympathy with the clergy in their difficulties." This would be true of some of the landlords and of many of their agents in Wales. The violence that disgraced the priesthood in Ireland, and the murders that followed it, had no parallel in Wales. The normal relations after 1891 were soon and peaceably resumed, and so was the agitation for disestablishment.

The Welsh tithe war was motived not by poverty but by politics, and no one recognised more fully than the Nonconformist ministers

* Le Feanu's *Seventy Years of Irish Life.*

themselves that the tithe war in Wales had weakened their spiritual influence and thrown some doubt upon their character as law-abiding citizens. It is difficult to estimate what influence upon the Welsh Disestablishment question in England the tithe war exercised. It alarmed some sections of the community and stiffened the opposition of others.

CHAPTER VIII

DISESTABLISHMENT IN PARLIAMENT

The collapse of the tithe war and the exposure of its motives caused some disillusionment, but did not stay the advance of the Liberationist forces. In the House of Commons the division lists were sure and recurring evidence of the weakening of the Church defenders. The Conservative Government grew more feeble and less popular, and all the omens seemed to foretell that the next appeal to the country would be answered by the return of an overwhelming Liberal majority. Suddenly the Irish schism changed the situation and diverted the rising tide of Liberalism. Thus the general election in 1892 was fought on a confused issue and put the Liberals in office but hardly in power.

Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister with a majority of forty-two in the House of Commons. Of this majority thirty-one came from Wales. Life on such a scanty margin was precarious. The Welsh party were quick to appreciate, but not clever enough to use, their power. It was an exquisite and exciting game to watch. On the one side was this small band of fervid Welshmen. For more than twenty years they had fought to secure even a foothold in parliament for their cause, and now to their amazement and perplexity they

found themselves in a position to turn out at any moment the Government if it refused to carry out its pledge. On the other side stood the Prime Minister—to use Mr. Balfour's description—the greatest parliamentarian of the century. Absorbed in Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone, although not an ardent believer in "religion as by law established," was still less ardent in his support of the methods and probably of the avowed purpose of the Welsh party. His was the supreme and determining figure. The Celt was at the gate, challenging and confident. The Premier did not meet them with silent arrogance or submissive deference. He recognised their political achievements with a fatherly sympathy and sobriety and with an almost stooping condescension.

The new Parliament was opened on January 31st, 1893. Not a moment was lost by the Government, eager to humour the Welsh party from whom already blustering and premature threats of an ultimatum were heard. Mr. Asquith, on February 23rd, 1893, introduced a Suspensory Bill to prevent the creation of new interests in the bishoprics, dignities, and benefices in Wales and Monmouthshire, or in other words to hang up the Church of Wales, its machinery, organisation, and work. The debate was long and well-remembered for two incidents which lifted it out of the common.

That evening Lord Randolph Churchill made one of his last speeches in the House. He had called in Welsh help and spent two laborious mornings with his tutor in mastering the intricacies of the Welsh problem. It was evident already that health and strength were ebbing away, but even

so he seized the essential facts with unexpected sureness and rapidity. "What," he said to his helper, "was the name of that Act you quoted? The House of Commons like you to show knowledge." Unfortunately his place in the debate was delayed until a late hour, and this seemed to have flurried him, with the result that some of the Welsh statistics were a little misplaced. It was a brilliant and biting speech. "Votes, votes, votes —that is the cry of the right honourable gentleman, and that is the political morality which he preaches. Do you call yourselves a Government? Whom do you govern? One day you are at the mercy of the Irish party, another day at the mercy of the Welsh. The English people will never consent that the government of the country should be carried on upon principles more suited to a Whitechapel auction than to the conduct of a State."

Until Lord Randolph rose to speak Mr. Gladstone had listened with nodding indifference to the Welsh orators, but now he was aroused and alert. His unfading knowledge enabled him to deal faithfully with any historic allusion in the speeches of Lord Randolph and Sir John Gorst. To the simile of the Whitechapel auction he answered by bidding his followers "vote, vote, vote," and he criticised some of the statements made by the noble lord, but he left the main arguments unassailed. Not so gently did he deal with Sir John Gorst.

Here let me mention that Lord Salisbury, when telling me that Sir John Gorst was to move the amendment to the Bill, said: "He

will make a strong speech." To those who, like myself, had listened painfully to Sir John's effort, Mr. Gladstone's description brought warmth and refreshment. "The speech of the right honourable gentleman was temperate, was cool, and so cool that it was cold. The right honourable gentleman seemed to think that there was a novel situation which required him to assume a new individuality, and his speech was like a suit of clothes which is new, which hangs loosely about the wearer, not having yet acquired a perfect fit. When listening to the speech of the right honourable gentleman I bethought myself of the fact that in our great sea-going ships there is always an apartment known as an ice-chamber, and I could not help wondering whether his speech had not been composed in an ice-chamber."

There was something of more importance in this debate than these personal references. The introduction of the Suspensory Bill was the first practical step in Parliament taken by any Government to sever a part of the Church of England from the State and to appropriate its endowments to other than specifically religious objects. A mighty task for any Government at any time, it was in truth a hazardous adventure for a Government living wholly on and between such dubious forces as the Irish and the Welsh. To an instructed onlooker the situation had all the interest of a game in which the Suspensory Bill represented the first move.

Mr. Asquith in introducing the Bill reproduced in smooth and shining phrases the arguments and statements which, with a riotous intemperance of

speech, the Welsh party loved to repeat in their own rough Doric. His was indeed the delicate and double task of satisfying the impatient clamour of the Welshmen and yet of respecting the consciences of honest and reasonable people. The obvious motive of his speech was "to seek out acceptable words" for both sides. To the one side he, with characteristic solemnity, declared "the great object of the Suspensory Bill was to give the Welsh people an assurance that the Imperial Parliament will deal without unnecessary delay with the whole question of the Established Church in Wales." The drastic provisions of the Bill having been explained, he lifted the curtain for one moment and as with a wink pointed to the £250,000 a year (the total endowments of the Church) which he would hand over for Welsh national purposes. Suddenly dropping levity and the curtain, he turned gravely to reassure churchmen after this manner. "Be of good cheer. Know that in no spirit of animosity are we doing this thing, but rather in the firm belief that we are making the Church not weaker but stronger. Why, £250,000 a year is a trifle, and you will have such a hold on the sympathy of Wales that you will replace it easily by voluntary contributions." The assurance and the reassurance were received with equal confidence by the assured and the reassured. A query of two words helped to elicit a fact of supreme importance. I give the passage in full.

Mr. Gladstone: "The noble lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) says he has listened in vain for arguments in support of the Bill, which he

calls a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church."

Mr. Kenyon : "And disendowment."

Mr. Gladstone : "I make this confession, to which I think the noble lord is entitled, and that is that this Bill is a disestablishing bill in principle. I go further, and state that we cannot recommend hon. gentlemen to vote for this Suspensory Bill unless they think that the facts within their knowledge justify our undertaking the project of the disestablishment of the Church."

Mr. Kenyon : "Disendowment ?"

Mr. Gladstone : "Disestablishment of the Church demanded alike by policy and justice, although attended by not inconsiderable practical difficulties."

Mr. Kenyon—a man of marked ability and loyalty—rendered on this, as on many other occasions, a signal service. I had been long convinced that Mr. Gladstone was no friend to disendowment. His argument for disestablishment in this speech, as in all his speeches, was based upon a principle hard to controvert. "I will not say that there is an absolute argument, but there is a strong presumptive argument for disestablishment wherever the adherents of establishment are in a small minority." Curiously, or rather consistently, in this very debate he said, "Now, I want to deal with the Suspensory Bill. It is not denied that the Church in Wales will be left in possession of her temporalities for the purpose of prosecuting her work."

Here my story pauses while, in imagination, I betake myself to the House of Commons Com-

mittee Room No. 7, where the whole Welsh party were assembled to discuss the debate on the Suspensory Act. I found them before the business began in groups, and the voices—eager and dissonant—seemed to foretell a fervid discussion. The chairman, Mr. Stuart Rendel—not by race, birth, language, or property connected with Wales—wrested the representation of Montgomeryshire from the family of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, owner of a vast tract of land in that county. How came it to pass that these ardent Welsh nationalists willingly, yea deferentially, accepted the leadership of an Englishman who had dropped from the skies and pounced upon the one safe Tory seat in Wales ?

The explanation was many-sided. Mr. Rendel was rich, he was clever. He read the Welsh character in its strength and weakness. The Celt in Wales, as in Ireland, may in his embryonic stage have multiplied by spontaneous fission. Certainly a tribal or fissiparous influence has dominated his history and has manifested itself not only in his social and political relations, but conspicuously so in the origin and multitude of his sectarian divisions. When Mr. Stuart Rendel appeared the Welsh party were without form and void—split up into small groups, jealous and suspicious of each other. Quickly Mr. Rendel set before them one objective, the Church problem. This meant unity of action and ultimately discipline and obedience. Mr. Rendel, host at the annual banquet to the Welsh party, always secured thereat the presence of one of the Liberal leaders. Thus a new sense of social and political

importance gave the party their first elements of cohesion. In spite of all the wisdom and beneficence showered upon them, they were even yet at times difficult and restive.

So it was when I fancied myself present in Committee Room No. 7 listening to the discussion on the Suspensory Bill. In suave and convincing terms Mr. Rendel warmly congratulated them on the birth of the Suspensory Bill, and predicted that with patience and careful nursing of this infant they would soon realise the object of all their hopes and efforts. Among those addressed were Liberals of an older generation—Sir Hussey Vivian, Mr. Fuller-Maitland, Mr. Egerton-Allen; and then there were the young Liberals—Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Samuel Evans; and finally there was Sir Osborne Morgan, uncertain whether he belonged to the extremists or to the gentlemen, but quite certain that he was among the chiefest in his antipathy to the Church. The older men accepted the guidance of the chairman, and were prepared to regard the Government speeches in the debate as adequate and excellent, and they were fortified in this opinion by a speech from Mr. Ellis, the Government Whip, in which he announced the wholehearted sincerity of the Government and pleaded for patience. The younger members of the party took a different view, of whom one of the ablest candidly said that he set small store upon the Suspensory Bill, which he regarded as a small payment in advance towards the liquidation of a debt which they knew they could not meet.

If, he contended, the general election which

must be imminent resulted in the return of the Liberal Party to power, Home Rule would be the first measure passed, and the passing of Home Rule would mean the loss of the Irish members upon whom the Welsh party depended for their majority. We are masters to-day, we have never been masters before, and we are not likely to be masters again. Our policy and wisdom must be to warn the Government that unless the Welsh Bill for disestablishment and disendowment is introduced this session and taken *de die in diem*, we shall not only withdraw our support but if necessary vote against the Government, and he concluded with a rather scathing criticism of the debate on the Suspensory Bill.

The last speech which my imagination materialised was that of an old and courtly Liberal. "Beware," he said, "how we proceed. If my heart by signs can tell, this Suspensory Bill is doing the whole party harm." At that point, like an indistinct telephone, my knowledge and imagination failed, and all I could hear was the sound of many voices like unto a sibilant buzz.

That much-respected old gentleman was right. Churchmen naturally regarded the Bill as a menace. To reasonable people in all parties it was mean and "un-English." A blunt Radical exclaimed, "If we are going to disestablish and disendow this Welsh Church, let us do it like men at once without these preliminaries. Why first bother to blacken the eyes of the man you are going to hang?" So far from being a token of confidence and courage, the Bill tended to rasp public opinion, and just at this nervous crisis a Dis-

establishment and Disendowment Bill, drafted by Mr. Gee (the recognised protagonist of the Liberationist cause), was brought to light. A recital of its main provisions will suffice. "The compensation given to the clergy under the Irish Act should not on any account whatever be adopted in the Welsh Act." "The dignitaries and beneficed clergy were to receive pensions and were free to refuse their services and to enter into other engagements." "The palaces, parsonages, glebes, to be sold and the amounts received to be paid into the Tithe Fund of the county in which they are situated, each County Council shall appoint a committee and officer to collect and apply the tithes, etc."

"As the use of the churches will be granted to the disestablished Church as a Protestant Church, the parishioners should be empowered to withhold them in case doctrines are taught or ceremonies introduced which they consider inconsistent with the Protestant character of the Church."

"Any or all of the cathedrals, if unused or allowed to go out of repair, should be handed over to the County Councils."

"All endowments now in the possession of the Church which have been left to the bishops or clergy and other officers as trustees for parishes should be transferred to the parish councils or vestries and be entirely under their control."

"Churches and parsonages erected by public subscription since the commencement of the reign of George IV (1820) should be considered as the property of the disestablished Church, subject to the repayment to the Tithe Fund of

the county of all sums received from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and from other public services."

"All documents, deeds, records, belonging to any church to be delivered up to the County Council."

This document saw the light in April, 1893. If the Suspensory Bill was a shock, this Bill, drafted by Mr. Gee and his committee, was a veritable thunderbolt—to the Welsh party in its divulgences, and to churchmen in its provisions. Not a whisper was heard about the Suspensory Bill. But in June the *Times* announced that "the Welsh party assembled (in Committee Room No. 7) to consider their future action in view of Mr. Gladstone's attitude on the subject of Welsh Disestablishment," and that "the advanced section of the party hold that the time has arrived for adopting drastic measures, failing a definite statement of the intentions of the Government." The resolution of the extremists was not passed, but a letter was addressed to Mr. Gladstone on June 26th, 1893, in which it was said that the Welsh electors were apprehensive, that while in the Newcastle programme the Welsh demand took a second place in that schedule of grievances other interests might interpose, but not for an instant did they desire to dictate or to impute default or a change of front to the ministry. There were, however, rumours abroad which caused them some disquietude. In short, every sentence in that long letter shivered with alarm. I quote Mr. Gladstone's reply:

"10, Downing Street, July 5th, 1893.

"DEAR MR. RENDEL—I have to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial signed by thirty Welsh members, including yourself, on behalf of Welsh Disestablishment.

"I think you and they will probably feel that, in the midst of the present struggle in Committee on the Irish Government Bill, the time has hardly arrived for my making a reply to this memorial. But when that Bill shall have substantially escaped from the battle-field with security I shall be happy to make a further communication.

"In the meantime I ought to say a word on the declarations at Newcastle. I have never heard, and certainly also never considered, that they announced any plan with regard to the order of business beyond the express declarations which may have been contained in them. On the other hand, I think the Government have, even in the present overcrowded session, given some evidence of their desire to go as far as they are able in securing a forward place for Welsh Disestablishment; and I can also assure you that nothing has been decided, or even meditated, by us which could tend to deprive that question of the position which it now holds.

"Believe me, very faithfully yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

This letter did not allay the fears of the party and gave the extremists a firmer foothold. Heated, indeed overheated, colloquies in conclaves and groups of the party supervened, and on July 28th their leader, Mr. Rendel, addressed to Mr. Gladstone a second letter in which he was asked for "a more definite reply," and the letter concluded with this sentence, "The loyalty of Wales to the Liberal

Party has hitherto been unswerving, and we earnestly trust that you, as leader of the Liberal Party, can see your way to avert any misunderstanding which would have the effect of imperilling that devotion, by placing in the forefront of your programme for next session, not a preliminary, but a final and complete measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales."

I give Mr. Gladstone's answer in full; to curtail it would mar the charm of his letter and the symmetry of this fateful correspondence.

"10, Downing Street, Whitehall,
"August 8th, 1893.

"DEAR MR. RENDEL—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the position of the Welsh Disestablishment question.

"Without entering upon any discussion of particulars, I can neither complain nor be surprised to find that the representatives of Wales insist on all such advantage as the reports drawn by the Executive of the National Liberal Federation may have given them.

"Over and above this independent and non-official testimony, they have the further advantage as compared with the advocates of many other important Liberal measures of the emphatic affirmation in their favour which has been secured by the division on the introduction of the preparatory Bill. I can, therefore, sincerely congratulate them on the position which the question of Welsh Disestablishment, considered as a whole, has attained.

"The identification of sentiment which prevails between the Liberal Party and the people of Wales makes it certain, by evidence far stronger

than any words of mine could supply, that, when the time arrives for the ultimate decisions of questions of priority, the leaders of the party, for whom as well as myself I can undertake to speak, will do the utmost that the general situation may admit in urging the claims of Wales, not merely for a preliminary measure, but for a full and effective plan of Disestablishment to be carried through with a steady hand.

"At the present moment we are painfully aware that the decisions that the Cabinet may form, even as to the business of the present year, are by no means independent of the effects which may be produced by an obstruction made for the first time both general and systematic by a party of at least 315 gentlemen. The order of business in a future session manifestly will be affected by the degree and the particulars of our success in combating the present modes of opposition; especially as to the position in which the session of 1893 may leave the great Irish controversy.

"But the important and enlightened body of gentlemen on whose behalf you write, may rest assured that, at the first moment when deliberations of reasonable solidity on the subject of priority become possible, we shall approach the question with the firm intention so to handle it as, amidst competing or conflicting claims, to avert whatever might threaten to deprive Wales of the advantages which I have described as attaching to the position she has acquired.

"I remain, dear Mr. Rendel, sincerely yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

The plague of distraction fell upon the Liberationists in Wales. Liberal Federations met and demanded "immediate and specific assurances from the Government; the Nonconformist pulpits

and platforms echoed and re-echoed the general anxiety; the Press—notably Mr. Lloyd George's organ—confessed the misery of their position and the confusion of the party." Small wonder that things were as they were. The Suspensory Bill was successively put down for second reading on April 10th, on May 1st, on July 31st, on August 10th, and finally on August 28th. There was no second reading, and this Bill, the prologue to their victory, became an epitaph and was withdrawn on September 18th.

The position of the Welsh party was depressing if not desperate, and at a meeting of the Welsh party in September it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Lloyd George, that having carefully considered the correspondence with Mr. Gladstone the Welsh party rely "that the Government will place the Welsh Disestablishment Bill in a position in their programme next session to enable the House of Commons to carry it through all its stages and send it up to the House of Lords before the session is over." Then this was added: "We desire to notify the Government that unless the Bill is placed in that position, we shall as a party be under the regrettable necessity of having to reconsider our attitude of support to the Government and to take an independent course." Some of the members proposed immediate secession from the Liberal Party.

Later in the year Mr. Ellis, the Whip, regarded the correspondence with Mr. Gladstone as "having done most substantial service to the Welsh cause," and he "deprecated the insinuations of the enemy and the suspicions of

the fidgety." For the moment the rebellion was stayed, while the session dragged along over-weighted with legislative proposals. On March 3rd, 1894, the Queen accepted Mr. Gladstone's resignation, and summoned Lord Rosebery to form a ministry. On Monday, March 5, Parliament was prorogued, and reassembled on the following Monday, when the speech from the Throne announced a mammoth programme of legislation.

On April 26th, 1894, Mr. Asquith moved for leave to introduce the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, and it was read a first time on April 30th. The speech was designed "not to argue the general question, but to state the plan which the Government proposed to submit to the House for dealing in a practical and effectual way with the settlement of this question." Mr. Asquith assumed that the Bill would come into operation on January 1st, 1896. The effect of the Bill would be that from that date the Church in Wales would be disestablished, all rights of patronage extinguished, all corporations dissolved, bishops ejected from the House of Lords, Ecclesiastical Courts no longer with coercive jurisdiction, no appeals to the Queen in Council, Convocation a common law body to be modified in its composition and constitution. Turning to disendowment, private benefactions were not to be alienated after 1703. The total gross ecclesiastical income of £279,000, representing endowments of parochial benefices and of episcopal and capitular offices, were to be alienated and the surplus paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from English

revenues, to go back to England. The whole sum of £279,000 to be regarded as Welsh, and to be applied by various local authorities to found and maintain public parish and district halls and institutes, to provide labourers' dwellings at reasonable rents, and to be used for any other public purpose of local utility not provided for by public rates. The total annual value of modern endowments was not more than £13,000.

Mr. Asquith was of opinion that they ought to let the balance incline in the direction of generosity, and that the whole of these private benefactions amounting to £13,000 might properly and legitimately be made over to the representative body! Three Commissioners were to be appointed, in whom all property belonging to the Church in Wales would vest immediately, subject to vested interests and to the transfer of the larger part of it to various local authorities in Wales. The cathedrals to be treated as national monuments and vested in the Commissioners, and with the permission of the Commissioners to be used for purposes of divine service. The Parsonage Houses to be retained by the Welsh Commissioners and, with their permission, used as ecclesiastical residences. Burial-grounds to be taken from the Church, glebes to be vested in rural parishes in parish councils, and in urban districts in borough councils, tithe to be vested in the county councils. He did not think that those bodies would be reluctant to collect the tithe and deduct necessary expenses. There was to be no commutation, and an incumbent might exchange his vested interest for a compensation

annuity. Curates were to receive no vested interests. Lay patrons were to receive large compensations. Finally, there was to be no central fund for the aggregation of the revenues of the Welsh Church and no capitalisation of vested interests.

The Bill was a soporific and a bait—it quieted for a space the nerves of the Welsh party and tempted the extremists with the offer of what they most desired. As touching the Church, it swept away her endowments, tithe, glebe, churchyards, and secularised her cathedrals; it refused commutation and tempted her clergy to desert her service for pensions. The refusal of commutation, which saved the Irish Church, and of capitalisation of her attenuated resources would, as far as the arm of Parliament could reach, break her corporate and organised life into pieces. Churchmen saw in it a complete exhibition of the motives and designs of its authors and supporters, who welcomed the Bill with rapturous applause. In Wales the Liberationist Press and the Nonconformist papers pronounced the Bill excellent, just and praiseworthy. The workers of inequity in Wales, who had turned their religion into politics and their politics into gain, naively dwelt upon the number of lucrative posts which the Bill when passed would create in Wales. Mr. Gee and Mr. Ellis, the Liberal Whip, recognised with pride that the Bill was their own Bill, put into parliamentary form. Great indeed was their rejoicing at the intimation, practically the promise, given by Mr. Asquith that "this Bill will pass into law during the present session" (*i.e.* 1894).

The Welsh party beamed with delight and doted upon the Bill. Soon a fly appeared in the ointment. Why did the Bill tarry ? Spring was over and the summer months were gliding away. Surely it was time to awake the slumbering infant ! In their anxiety they sought out the nurse. But Mr. Asquith dare not expose his tender charge to the risk of a second reading without authority. Here the drama is delayed by an awkward interlude of comedy. The party assembled in No. 7 Committee Room and, under the advice of Mr. Ellis, the Whip, resolved to send their chairman to interview Sir William Harcourt. This was a short-sighted and forgetful step. The majority of the Welsh party, eagerly canvassed by Mr. Ellis, had not supported Sir William Harcourt for the vacant Premiership. Sweet and forgiving as Sir William's temper might be, this Welsh appeal would prove a strain upon it. Indeed, Sir Osborne Morgan had forebodings, and a humorous onlooker described him as approaching the leader's room with shuffling gait and a penitential stoop.

It was a painful interview. The Welsh chairman with much frankness declared that " Sir William told me I was the greatest bore in the House of Commons ; I considered that a compliment." Similar " compliments " were paid by Sir William to other members of the Welsh party, and the interview ended when Sir William Harcourt, with much cordiality, consigned Sir Osborne and his blank Bill to the place paved with good intentions. Mr. D. A. Thomas, the member for Merthyr, gave a corroborative account

of the interview, as told him by Sir William Harcourt, and did not think the language inappropriate, but the rest of the party interpreted it as an insult, while a leading Nonconformist paper said of Sir William Harcourt, "it is strange that a person of his standing should use such words to such a devout man as Sir George Osborne Morgan and about such a religious people as the Welsh." All that resulted from the sustained efforts of the Welsh party was disappointing. On July 18th, 1894, Sir William Harcourt announced the programme for the rest of the session, and among the Bills withdrawn was the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, and the year in which Mr. Asquith promised that the Bill would pass in the House of Commons did not even see its second reading.

I have now followed the history in Parliament of Welsh Disestablishment from 1892 to the end of 1894, and I turn from Parliament to the country to narrate briefly the impressions made upon the nation and the efforts taken by those who were opposed to the Bill. In preparing for the defence of the Church it seemed obvious that the same forces which threatened Wales would in due time assail England. The first question for Wales was, what would be the attitude of England? The Archbishop of Canterbury (then Dr. Benson) answered that question at the Rhyl Church Congress in 1891.

"This is the message that I bring you. We should think scorn of ourselves if we contentedly beheld the established Christianity of Scotland, Presbyterian though it be in discipline, discharged

of its duties, and dislodged from its tenure, as the spiritual organ of the State and Kingdom of Scotland, united with us by comparatively recent ties. But you, who are our eldest selves, fountain of our Episcopacy, the very designers of our sanctuaries, the primeval British dioceses from which our very realm derives its only title to be called by its proudest name of Great Britain—I come from the steps of the Chair of Augustine, your younger ally, to tell you that, by the benediction of God, we will not quietly see you disinherited." That note, so resolutely struck, rang throughout the whole country, and never once did the archbishop relax his efforts in the defence of the Church in Wales.

Two instant and insistent duties presented themselves to Church defenders. In Wales there appeared to be a confederacy of falsehoods. Their refutation was the first and most constant task for Church defenders. The general election of 1892 returned a preponderance of Liberationist members which, if a true reflection of the sentiments of the people, would have supplied an argument hard to combat. Here the only convincing answer must come from the voters themselves. It was my settled conviction that that preponderance was fortuitous, and not an exact representation of the real feelings of the people of Wales. The ballot-box would answer the question. Candidates had to be found for every constituency, and the voters furnished and equipped with a simple and truthful statement of the case. But if the Church was to be defended, and the real opinion of the people of Wales fairly

ascertained, "a necessity was laid upon Churchmen" which could not be shirked. Thereupon I interviewed the first Duke of Westminster. In his quiet, dignified, and yet resolute way he said, "A central committee must at once be formed." He, if desired, would act as chairman, but "Lord Penrhyn must be seen first of all," before whom I laid the plan. He listened attentively.

"Do you know, bishop," he said, "I was born with a double dose of suspicion." "Oh, yes," I replied, "I quite understand that!" He smiled, and joined the committee, and formed a main pillar in the new organisation. A meeting of Conservative leaders was held at Grosvenor House, attended by many of the leading men in Wales. Colonel the Hon. Edward Sackville West acted as secretary, and the money needed came in within a month. Next arose the problem of candidates—a difficult and delicate task. The "obvious candidate" had often to be set aside, and some one with youth, vigour, ability, and enthusiasm was looked for. The next two years saw a mass of strenuous and sustained work done in every constituency.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, following up the lead he gave at Rhyl, summoned a meeting at Lambeth Palace on March 4th, to make preparations for repelling the attack on the Church. At that meeting Lord Salisbury was present, together with the leading lay and clerical representatives of the Church. It was resolved that the Archbishop should address a letter on the subject to every bishop in his Province, announcing that a great meeting was to be held in

London on May 16th. Lord Salisbury, in discussing the policy to be followed, first of all made it clear that he was there not as a leader of a political party, but as a Churchman. Their appeal must be to the electors. They must keep the question above party. They must make much of Liberals who were opposed to disestablishment; and of these, Liberal bishops and Liberal clergy must proclaim the fact that they were Liberals. They had better not employ Conservative agents. The prominent men on Church platforms were generally ecclesiastics, politicians, and the worthy and excellent men.

It happened that on the day the Suspensory Bill was introduced the Queen received representatives from Convocation with a "Ceremonial of the first order," and with a reception conspicuous for its graciousness. I was one of the deputation, and Her Majesty recognised me. A few days after, I was commanded to preach at Windsor Castle on March 19th. I was summoned to the Queen's presence, and Her Majesty was pleased to show deep interest in the Church in Wales, and referred to Bishop Thirlwall. On May 16th the great meeting planned at Lambeth was held in the Albert Hall. There must have been 10,000 people present. It seemed as if the building was packed from end to end. Both Convocations, both Houses of Laymen, and representative churchwardens from all parts of England and Wales, were present. The meeting had been preceded by a service in St. Paul's Cathedral. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided, and among the speakers were

Lord Selborne, the Archbishop of York, and the Duke of Argyll. That meeting was a prelude and a pattern for the countless Church Defence meetings and demonstrations held throughout England and Wales.

The task before Church defenders was a hard one. The abstract arguments which formed the chief armoury of the London Liberationist Society were given a very limited currency in Wales. Welsh crowds were moved by the claim of their distinct nationality, and by the assertion of the delinquencies of the Church given without dates or easy verification. The indefatigable repetition of these statements gained them credence, and veracity like justice lame-footed was slowly overtaking them.

It would be invidious and indeed impossible to enumerate those who were foremost in bearing testimony on behalf of the Church. There were two exceptions, however, which may be quoted without disparagement to any one. Mr. Asquith's speech in 1894 elicited from Dr. Stubbs, the Bishop of Oxford, the following statement. I quote it at length. "Do we not realise that the Welsh dioceses are a part of the living, historic, continuous, identical English Church? Surely we have evidence enough, even in the scanty records of our earliest history, of the existence of the Church in the British-speaking lands of the Roman province, in the struggling and semi-independent principalities of the Saxon hegemony, in the united and consolidated monarchy of the West Saxon and Danish kings of England, in the organised and defined policy

of the Normans and Plantagenets—of a Church life, at first trying to work in tribal isolation, but a thousand years ago merging its whole energy in the Church life of England, and in its growth, religious and constitutional, one with the national body. The Church which we are now defending is not an alien Church. It is not alien in origin, nor alien in history, nor alien in sympathy or in spirit. Can we say that this cant about the alien Church is a thing in which those who speak of it do really believe?" Little was heard of the alien argument after this utterance.

Not less potent was the following letter which Mr. Asquith's speech drew from Dr. Vaughan, Master of the Temple and Dean of Llandaff: "Always hating the strife of tongues, I yet feel it to be impossible, consistently with honour and honesty, to be absolutely silent at a moment so critical, when the Church which I serve is threatened with confiscation, and the cathedral of which I am a minister with the baser ignominy of desecration. While I hope that the battle will be waged, on our side at least, with all truthfulness of statement and scrupulosity of charity, I yet confess that indignation must be one element of the feeling with which we regard the treatment of the eldest and holiest institution of our country in the Bill now awaiting its second reading in the Lower House of Parliament." The life and character of the author were known to all men, and his letter in its beauty and simplicity constrained attention. There was just that note of dignity and aloofness which in the confusion of a controversy that crawled in the dust or lost

itself in the clouds, appealed powerfully to all men of goodwill. The dean's words sank deep. The silence of the extremists showed how deep they had gone. Bishop Stubbs and Dean Vaughan neither spoke nor wrote as controversialists. They both stood aloof from and above the strife of tongues. Not an incident but a turning-point in the defence of the Church is the truest description of the effect of their words. Men of lesser learning and prestige, but not of lesser devotion and enthusiasm, carried the torch of warning throughout the land.

The year 1894 ebbed away in a stillness like unto that which precedes a thunder-storm. The new year began amid excitement and expectation. Parliament opened on February 5th, 1895, and in less than three weeks saw the Welsh Disestablishment Bill re-introduced and read a first time, after a debate conspicuous for the perfunctory speech in which Mr. Asquith introduced the Bill. The Welsh party at last had laid hands upon the Government and would brook no delay. On April 1st the second reading was carried by a majority of forty-four. The Irish Home Rulers numbered sixty-two in that division. The two days' debate added little that was new to the arguments on either side, but it was adorned by the speech of Mr. David Plunkett which recalled the splendid eloquence of the greatest parliamentary orators in the past.

Here I digress for a moment. Mr. Chamberlain, in January, 1895, met Mr. Gladstone at Cannes, and it happened that they had discussed in their conversation the Welsh Bill. At the end

of that month, Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter to the *Times*, wrote that "the Welsh Church is entitled to liberal and even generous terms, and if freed from the State will rise to a position of influence and usefulness that it has never yet enjoyed." On February 21st I had at his request an interview with Mr. Chamberlain, and afterwards with the Archbishop of Canterbury. From the conversation at Cannes Mr. Chamberlain inferred that Mr. Gladstone did not approve of some of the provisions in the Welsh Bill and might be not unwilling, if approached, to make his disapproval known. But who would be bold enough to ask him to do so? Three or four possible names were suggested. With one consent, when interviewed, they all met the suggestion with abundant sympathy and a prompt refusal. The matter was then left in abeyance.

In the meantime Mr. Chamberlain examined the Bill, and he found that Mr. Lloyd George was in favour of making concessions. It is notable that at that early date Mr. Lloyd George, who had recently entered Parliament, was recognised by Mr. Chamberlain as pre-eminent among the Welsh party. Mr. Chamberlain treated me with a kindness and a frankness not to be forgotten, and in one interview he outlined the terms which he thought the Church would be wise to accept. That outline in later years proved of no small value. The second reading debate on the Welsh Bill began on March 21st (Thursday), and on the following Saturday Mr. Gladstone returned to London from the South of France. A telegram on the Monday summoned me to London for an

interview with Mr. Chamberlain. Intermediaries had failed, and it was decided that I, as bishop of his diocese, should ask Mr. Gladstone for an interview, and this was done that evening. The interview was granted with the kindness that never failed.

The next morning (March 26th) I went to 4, Whitehall Court, where Mr. Gladstone was staying. As I stepped out of the lift, Sir William Harcourt, who was just leaving, met me with a cordial, almost boisterous greeting. Anxious and tremulous, I was straightway shown into Mr. Gladstone's room. He was standing by the fire, a magnificent figure. "The fine courtesy and deference of manner" breathed sympathy. I came promptly to the purpose of my visit. At this moment the Welsh Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, and I pointed out that it would not only strip the Church of her endowments but would leave her disorganised and fettered with disabilities that revolted the idea of a Free Church in a Free State. I recited the most wounding and crippling provisions in the Bill. He listened to me with patience.

My recital finished, there was silence kept for a space. The crisis was upon me, and I broke in with my appeal, "Churchmen throughout the land look to you, sir; will you not speak?" My words must have sounded abrupt—like the cry of a drowning man. There was gentleness in the answer. "You know, bishop, I am, as far as politics are concerned, dead." "Yes, sir, you may be dead in politics, but you are not dead in England." I got up to leave. Mr. Gladstone

said, "What provisions in the Bill, bishop, hurt you most?" I said at once, "The secularisation of our cathedrals, and the taking away of our churchyards." Not another syllable about the Bill, but a farewell of hope and blessing. Mrs. Gladstone, whom I met as I was leaving, took me down in the lift. "I always take great care of bishops," she said, and in answer to a remark of mine she replied, "Yes, my husband is very well. He is now able to give, as he loves to, his whole time to holy things." So ended the interview, and I went my way, wondering and pondering. Six days' later the Bill was read a second time.

The Committee stage of the Bill began on May 6th, and Mr. Asquith single-handed steered the Bill with unruffled temper and with acknowledged skill. His two understudies were Mr. James Bryce and Sir Frank Lockwood. Those who heard their performances recognised the truth of the description given by the *British Weekly* "that Mr. Bryce was too dogmatic to be useful, and Sir Frank Lockwood's flippancy did not atone for his ignorance." Sir William Harcourt maintained an epic silence. When the cathedral clause was reached on June 18th, Mr. Asquith, in readily accepting an important amendment moved by Sir R. Jebb, recollected that the Welsh "cathedrals had been the burial-places of our great men, that the disused flags of our regiments hung from their roofs"—an echo of Mr. Plunkett's famous peroration. To this acceptance hangs a tale. Mr. Gladstone had paired with Mr. C. P. Villiers. Some weeks before this amendment he had with-

drawn his pair. The Government Whip, Mr. T. Ellis, had not divulged this fact. Sir William Harcourt, writing to Lord Rosebery on June 19th, said, " The affair of Mr. Gladstone's pair, respecting which I never heard a word till I read it in the *Times* this morning, is so serious that I must ask to see you about it to-morrow morning." Mr. Ellis fully realised the seriousness of the withdrawal and concealed it even from the Leader of the Opposition. I heard from a leading Welsh Liberal member that the reason given for the withdrawal of his pair by Mr. Gladstone was the treatment in the Bill of the cathedrals and the churchyards. The Government majorities had been steadily decreasing, and now they had received a staggering and final blow. On Thursday, June 20th, the Government majority fell to seven, and the next day the crash came on cordite. Lord Rosebery resigned, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister on July 2nd.

Earlier than Welsh Churchmen expected or desired came the general election. Unique importance attached to it. For twenty-five years the disestablishment of the Welsh Church had been brought before every parliament that met during that period. In 1895 it came before the Welsh electorate solely and distinctly. In the *Manchester Guardian* this point was frankly put. " The July elections in Wales presented a plain and single issue; and if ever the friends of religious equality in that country ought to have bestirred themselves it was then. But what actually happened? The Church party holds to-day instead of one-tenth nearly one-third of

the representation and confidently prophesies for the threatened establishment at all events a respite of a quarter of a century." The prophesy was accurate almost to a week. There was no getting away from the facts. They confirmed the conviction that the Welsh people were not by any means unanimously in favour of disestablishment and disendowment, and the more they understood it the less they liked it. Lessons and revelations of value emerged from this well-defined contest.

Its influence upon the leaders of the Conservative party was essentially wholesome. Even Mr. Balfour crossed Pall Mall to express to me his surprise and satisfaction. What I valued most of all were Mr. Lathbury's words in the *Guardian*. The whole strength and influence of the Nonconformists had been thrown into the balance. The Bill itself as drafted satisfied and appealed to all sections, and no temptation that could arouse cupidity or sectarian enthusiasm had been left out of the Bill. The Nonconformists, it must be said in fairness, received the result with no vulgar outcry but with dumb surprise.

The happiest feature of all in Wales after the election was the absence of any token or symptom of resentment or indignation among the people. The Liberationist forces had been rolled back and no one seemed very sorry. The result had been achieved not by the influence of territorial magnates but by the rank and file of Welsh Churchmen, who made the cause their own and their voices heard and felt. Something—let it

be said without ill nature—was due to the Welsh party. They missed their opportunity. Mr. Lloyd George seemed almost alone in the gift of insight and courage. The life of the Government was absolutely in the hands of the Welsh party. Had they taken his advice, they would have rejected with something like contempt the Suspensory Bill, and would have demanded that Home Rule and the Welsh Bill should have been introduced simultaneously and carried through the House of Commons *pari passu* and sent up together to the House of Lords. The contingency he foretold was not an improbable one. The Lords would reject Home Rule, and, having done that, would hesitate to reject the Welsh Bill. But overshadowing and dominating all these speculations was one man.

Throughout the fifty years (1870–1920) that the Welsh Church engaged the attention of Parliament, it fell to my lot from time to time to interview the political leaders whose business it was to take part in the controversy. One thing I can say without disparagement or insipid comparisons, Mr. Gladstone left indelibly stamped upon my mind the impression that in love for the Church and in sincere solicitude for her spiritual welfare, he was pre-eminent, and if my imperfect records have done nothing more than to bring to light the reality of his services to the Church in Wales I shall be well satisfied and thankful.

CHAPTER IX

CHURCH REFORM AND CHURCH SCHOOLS

THE Liberationists missed their chance, and for ten years the land had rest. The discussions on Welsh Disestablishment were largely responsible for two indirect and different results. "The Clergy Discipline Act for enforcing discipline in the case of crimes and other offences against morality committed by clergymen," carried through the House of Commons by a Conservative Government, became law in June, 1892. In the Standing Committee of the House of Commons the Bill met with what the Liberals themselves described as "scandalous obstruction." "The opposition," to use Archbishop Benson's words, "was conducted by three Welsh obstructionists in the most outrageous way." Mr. Gladstone had never sat on a Committee before, and told the Archbishop that he "held it a duty to go down and stop the shameful interruption of business." "The three Welsh obstructionists filled nearly nine foolscap pages of print with 'amendments,' fighting and speaking on every word." They rudely flouted Mr. Gladstone, whom a friend said he "never saw so excited that the scandal

should end." The result of this obstruction was to bring discredit upon the Welsh party and to shake trust in their motives. Equally undesigned was the other result that the Welsh party achieved. Archbishop Benson had found the Conservative party lukewarm in the cause of Church reform for which he had vainly struggled.

Churchmen in Wales were keenly alive to the urgent necessity of reform, and, freed from the disestablishment scare, they threw their whole strength into the reform movement. Lord Cranborne attended at Rhyl one of the largest and most representative meetings ever held in Wales to support the passing of the Benefices Bill. Lord Powis was in the chair, and a resolution pressing upon the Government the importance of passing the Benefices Bill was adopted with enthusiasm. Many were the meetings I attended in London on this subject. The Benefices Act was passed in 1898 and embodied the main provisions of the Patronage Bill which had twice failed to pass.

The debates on Welsh Disestablishment helped not a little to arouse and to concentrate the attention of Churchmen upon the need of reform and amendment in the discipline and organisation of the Church. At the same time a systematic effort to make better provision for the clergy was set on foot. The origin of that effort the diocese owes to Mr. Gladstone. The Queen Victoria Sustentation Fund, then in its infancy, was at his suggestion adopted in the diocese of St. Asaph. He not only gave a large subscription himself, but consented to speak at a meeting presided over by

the late Duke of Westminster. His speech on that occasion not only helped the diocese but gave the fund itself a brief for its existence. This thrilling appeal for the clergy "who, considering their education and their intellectual capacity, are the worst-paid class in the country," touched the whole Church. Later this fund in the diocese was organised by the Hon. Laurence Brodrick with a systematic thoroughness unequalled, I believe, in any other diocese. Mr. Brodrick by his untiring personal efforts brought every parish into line, and in this diocese he unknowingly prepared Churchmen for the post-disendowment quota. The whole-hearted gratitude of the diocese found expression in the lady chapel of the cathedral now dedicated to his memory.

In the forefront of the anxieties and responsibilities of the Church was that of education. Mr. Henry Richard, of whom I have already spoken, impressed upon Wales the ideal of secular education. The Welsh Intermediate Education Act was saturated with rigid undenominationalism, and the religious teaching in these schools—after a flimsy pretence—became in fact secular. In 1897 the Archbishop of Canterbury moved the rejection of a scheme which would have handed over Howell's School, Denbigh, to the county authorities, resulting in its assimilation to the Council schools. The House of Lords, under the advice of Lord Salisbury, rejected the scheme in spite of the fact that the Duke of Devonshire, then Minister of Education, gave the scheme his support. The Welsh Radical members exhausted their vocabulary upon me, a performance in which they were aided,

if not equalled, by no less a person than Sir Lewis Dibdin. Last October (1926) the Board of Education issued a report of an inspection of Howell's School drawn up by six of their own inspectors. The report concludes thus: "It will already be perfectly evident from what precedes that this is a thoroughly efficient school. Lofty ideals of the aims and purpose of education inspire the planning and organising of its instruction and activities. The beautiful and impressive opening service in the morning gives the keynote to the day's proceedings."

The history of this school is not an incident but a symptom. As a schoolmaster myself, and as a manager and governor of other schools, I remain profoundly possessed by the conviction that a purely secular education means disastrous impoverishment in the training of character. That conviction is now confirmed by irresistible proofs. The moment I was free from political controversies I formed a resolution, never afterwards weakened, that in the interests of the child adequate religious education should be available and that I would bend all my energies upon an endeavour to carry out that resolution. To obtain anything like a true perspective, the history of elementary education invites a careful study.

A hundred years and more have seen Parliament unable to solve or settle the problem of religious instruction in the elementary schools of this country. A retrospect will show how the difficulties surrounding this problem are great and of long standing, and have caused the same cleavage under different names—National and

British, Church and Board, Provided and Unprovided schools—to run through the whole system of our elementary education. Control and religious instruction have been the constant causes of that cleavage.

Mr. Samuel Whitbread (1807) introduced a Bill in the House of Commons to establish parish schools. The Archbishop of Canterbury objected to the Bill on the ground that it did not leave the control in the hands of the clergy, and the Bill was rejected. Voluntary effort came to the rescue. The British and Foreign Schools Society was founded (1808) to carry on schools under the system of Joseph Lancaster the Quaker. The National Society was set up (1811) for the education of the poor in the principles of the established Church of England and on the monitorial or mutual system of instruction of Dr. Bell. Infant schools, more or less on the plan of Oberlin, were established in 1815. Parliament made (1833) a first grant of £20,000 to be applied solely in aid of the building of schools. These grants were administered by the Treasury. An Order in Council appointed a Committee of Council "to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education."

Mr. Kay Shuttleworth (1839), "to whom more than to any other man we owe National Education," became Secretary of the Council that year. One of his first acts was to set up a system of inspection as a condition of public aid. Soon came an offer (1843) for the first time of grants for the building of training colleges and of teachers'

houses, and for providing school furniture and apparatus. Another step forward was the application (1846) of part of the parliamentary grant to increase teachers' salaries, to pay pupil teachers, and to establish Queen scholarships to enable the pupil teachers to go on to a training college.

Controversy on religious instruction, the distinguishing feature of these years, was inflamed by the Factory Bill (1843) of Sir Robert Peel, which provided for the moral and religious instruction of the children in these schools. The appointment of the teacher was subject to the clergyman's veto. The Nonconformists were protected by a conscience clause and separate religious instruction. Mr. Gladstone, in a letter (May, 1896) to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, said: "In 1843 the Government of Sir Robert Peel, with a majority of ninety, introduced an Education Bill rather large and meant for the factory districts. The Nonconformists at large took up arms against it, and after full consideration in the Cabinet (one of my first acts in Cabinet) they withdrew it rather than stir up the religious flame."

The Minutes of the Council on Education (1846)—"of determinative importance in English elementary education"—finally recognised denominationalism in elementary education. Part of the parliamentary grant was to be applied to augmenting teachers' salaries, to the payment of pupil teachers ("a system then definitely established"), to their training and to their trainers. Protests and memorials from Nonconformist bodies in England and Wales reached the Committee of Council (1847). "The Nonconformists believed

that no general plan would be accepted among them which did not abjure all kinds of denominational tests." The Wesleyans petitioned "the House of Commons not to vote any further sum of money to be placed at the disposal of the Committee of Council, and petitioned the Queen to dissolve the Committee by whom this pernicious scheme has been recommended." The curious conclusion to which the Nonconformists (notably in Wales) committed themselves was that "the interests of the nation could be best served by the non-interference of the Government in the education of the people."

The Commission of Inquiry into Education in Wales (1847) brought to light the fact that great was the darkness and even greater the bitterness and division that prevailed. Howbeit Mr. Kay Shuttleworth and the Council resolutely, but with tender consideration, kept a straight path. Capitation grants were first made (1853) from the parliamentary grant towards the annual income of schools. Lord John Russell's Bill (1853), Sir John Pakington's Bill (1853), and Mr. Milner Gibson's Bill (1855) attempted and failed to give local authorities rating powers for education. Mr. Lowe's Revised Code (1861), decreeing regular examinations and payments by results, received little welcome from the clergy and none from the teachers. The Committee of Council introduced (1863) (from the Endowed Schools Act, 1860) a conscience clause for single-school parishes, admitting the children of Nonconformists and exempting them from religious instruction. "The conscience clause"—wrote Mr. Gladstone (1867)

—"has been regarded by the Church with an evil eye; it is, in my view, the last plank." Around this clause the storm raged up to and beyond Mr. Forster's Act. Indeed, the religious problem had for a quarter of a century (1835–1870) caused a widening division, and in spite of all the efforts for progress put forth by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth and those who worked and felt as he did, the effect of this irritating controversy was then seen at its worst in the life and work of the schools.

Two illustrations will suffice; they were given me by the Dean of St. Asaph (H.M.I., 1867–1894): In 1868 the Government Inspector (Mr. Pryce), entering a school in Carmarthenshire, said to the man he found in charge, "Are you the master?" "No, the master is away." "Well, but you can tell me what the children have been taught; can they do sums?" "I don't know." "Can they sing?" "Yes." This was done, and the Inspector said, "They did that very nicely." "Do you really think so? Well, I will tell you the truth. I am the master." As showing the state of feeling in 1868, two Government inspectors, one for the Church and the other for the British school (of whom Mr. Pryce was one), arrived on the same day. The friends and pupils of the British school booed and hooted the Church inspector on his arrival. That evening the two inspectors, old college friends, stayed together at the one village inn; the Church inspector related his experience protestingly. The other replied: "Why, your fellows did exactly the same for me." While this friendly dialogue was going on inside the inn, a crowd of both partisans eagerly awaited

outside tidings of the fight which they believed must be going on inside. After dinner both inspectors, smoking cigars, took the evening air. Amazed at this friendliness, the crowd slowly dispersed, wondering after all if there was anything worth fighting about.

The Nonconformists had displayed an incurable suspicion at every stage in this first period of educational development, and gave no helping hand to many of the most beneficial proposals which the Government of the day laid before the country. They preferred to wait for the inevitable Reform Bill which would put the Liberals in power, and give them the exact type of education which they desired in the elementary schools. The Liberal triumph and the longed-for Education Bill came.

Mr. Forster, in his opening speech, said "that their first problem was this, how could they cover the country with good schools? There were two principles that ran through all the clauses. The first was that by legal enactment there should be efficient schools everywhere throughout the Kingdom, and compulsory provision of such schools. The inspectors, hitherto denominational, were for the future to be undenominational, and elementary schools must admit any inspector without any denominational provision." The aim of Mr. Forster's Bill was "to cover the country with good schools." Compulsory power to provide efficient schools, undenominational inspectors, and inspections of all schools, secular efficiency a condition of a grant, an effectual conscience clause, school boards armed with power to frame

bye-laws compelling attendance of all children from five to twelve, the establishment of School Boards—these were the chief provisions of the Bill.

The Act of 1870 was a great Act. It developed a "new public sentiment" in favour of education, and for the first time in England and Wales made general statutory provision for elementary education and called in the rates to meet any deficiency. Catechisms and distinctive formularies were not allowed in Board schools. Throughout the prolonged debates on Mr. Forster's Bill the question of religious instruction was the main subject of controversy and contention. The Act brought efficiency but not peace, for it left Churchmen with a rankling sense of injustice, while Mr. Miall boldly declared that Mr. Gladstone "had led them through the valley of humiliation." The Nonconformists and the Birmingham group, headed by Mr. Chamberlain, in the Press and in conferences made their protest widely and powerfully known, and the situation was made more difficult by Mr. Gladstone's own refusal to introduce a School Board into Hawarden. Amending Acts were passed in 1872 and 1873, while Mr. Dixon in 1874 brought forward a Bill for establishing universal School Boards. The Conservatives coming into power in 1874 carried Lord Sandon's Bill (1876) through Parliament. This Act did more for the Voluntary schools than for education, and did much to continue and to aggravate the educational war.

Twenty years later, Lord Salisbury's Government introduced a Bill formed upon the report of

Lord Cross's Committee. The Duke of Devonshire was Lord President, and Sir John Gorst, described in the Duke's *Life* as "a malcontent Tory," was Vice-President. The Bill, with its provision of religious teaching for every religious body, was not easy to understand. Archbishop Benson called in Dr. Wilson, the Archdeacon of Manchester, as an expert, and found that Dr. Wilson could only explain *obscurum per obscurius*. In June the Bill was withdrawn. An Act (1897) to aid voluntary elementary schools and to exempt them from rates was passed, but it neither solved nor softened the contentions of the time. In May, 1900, four months before the general election that again placed Lord Salisbury in power, Mr Samuel Smith moved the adjournment of the House of Commons to show "why the Protestant people of this country are indignant at the abuse of the Voluntary schools and training colleges in stamping out the work of the Reformation." That debate made a great impression upon the country. Instances of the abuse complained of were multiplied in the course of this significant debate, made more significant by the unconvincing defence elaborated by Mr. Balfour.

The strife of tongues continued. Mr. Morant, Private Secretary to the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord President, laid before him the chaotic condition of elementary and secondary education in the country, with the result that Mr. Balfour introduced an Education Bill in March, 1902. The Bill abolished School Boards; it established one local educational authority upon whom was imposed the duty of promoting the general

co-ordination of all forms of education, gave the Voluntary schools a share in the rates, and the local education authority a share in their management. The Bill brought order out of chaos, and laid the foundation for a national administration of education. Mr. Balfour, now Premier, secured the passing of the Bill in December (1902). There was knowledge and vision in the Act; whether a sequence or consequence, it pleased neither side in the controversy which had lasted throughout the century, and which was once more aflame throughout the country. The controversy was mainly upon three points—religious instruction, public control, abolition of tests.

Touching the first point, the secularists held that religious teaching was no business of the State, and that religious instruction should be replaced by a gospel of citizenship. The supporters of religious instruction were sharply divided among themselves; some pressed for the recognition of definite religious teaching. Nonconformists were in favour of simple Bible teaching, but they found themselves face to face with the fact that this type of teaching in the Board schools had ended in an unreality and generally in the stealthy withdrawal of all religious teaching. Under this Act the Voluntary schools, hitherto tax-aided, became rate-aided, and taxes being more indirect and impersonal than rates, the old grievance was renewed in a more acute form. Then came the question of public control. It was a recognised principle in public administration that the ratepayer must have a voice in the control of the money which he paid in rates, or, put in another way,

rate-aid involved as a corollary popular local control. This contention commanded throughout the country a large measure of support.

Last of all came the question of tests for head teachers. In 1903 it was estimated that out of 31,000 head teachers, 20,000 were employed in denominational schools. Hence the Act of 1902 left unamended the anomaly that two out of every three head teachers were subject to a religious test, although for all practical purposes they were civil servants. Then followed a riot of agitation. The Government were steadily losing favour, and this Act stiffened "the backbone of the Liberal Party." Passive resistance was the war-cry, and passive resisters, like Dr. Clifford, became heroes, and the sale of the "silver teapot" a badge of martyrdom. In Wales the local authorities declined to staff the Voluntary schools or to provide salaries or to approve of appointments of teachers. Glamorganshire, under the guidance of a calm and brilliant leader, Sir Thomas Franklen, developed a formidable plan of campaign, while Merionethshire, with less culture but not less determination, followed a cruder plan and made the treatment of Towyn Voluntary school a *locus classicus* of the injustice which sectarian and political bitterness can in its worst moments perpetrate.

The country was flooded with literature. One leaflet, described by Mr. Balfour in a letter to me "as a most disgraceful document, the falsehoods in which steps should be immediately taken to controvert," ran as follows: "Act on the principle, No control, no cash. If the Councils are not allowed to control the schools, let them refuse aid from the

rates to maintain them. If the parson wants to manage the school, let him maintain it. If the parson insists on appointing the teacher, let him pay the teacher's salary. All the Councils of Wales should join together, and as long as they understand each other they are bound to win." Such was the situation at the beginning of 1903.

The Minister for Education was Sir William Anson, a man who combined the best traditions and courtesies of an English country gentleman with the learning and the reticence befitting the head of the most exclusive college in Oxford. It would have been difficult to find a man less equipped to deal with rude and truculent local authorities, inebriated with the powers which they were now beginning to imbibe and to enjoy.

The real power behind and above the ministers was Sir Robert Morant. In reading over a large pile of his letters and recalling my many interviews with him during these years, I am more than ever impressed with his capacity. He got at the true value of things and of persons. He gauged conditions and influences with amazing accuracy and rapidity. He reminded me of stories of Napoleon in his power of work, in the wide sweep of his outlook, in the candour and faithfulness with which he assessed the capacities of his leaders and colleagues. The Act of 1902 was his Act, and it remained the greatest educational Act on the Statute Book. In one of his letters he said that Churchmen "begin to realise the tremendous powers given (intentionally as far as I am Concerned) by the Act of 1902 to County Councils over Voluntary schools." I ventured to say to

this that the other side did not at once understand that the bridle was off.

I doubt whether Morant attached grave importance to the intervention of Dr. Clifford, but, without at first admitting it, he soon saw that the real danger came from Mr. Lloyd George. Here I am treading on the ground of fallible conjecture. The glorification of small nationalities is in theory and sentiment very noble, but a little unreal when you come to deal with it. "Can you trust them" is the caution that habit and experience whisper in the ear of the imperial negotiator. "This mere Welsh attorney"—as the Duke of Marlborough on a famous occasion described Mr. Lloyd George—did not inspire immediate confidence in Mr. Morant. Undoubtedly he recognised Mr. Lloyd George's ability and influence, but he seemed to regard him as a man who cared not a straw for the larger interests at stake, but as a rising politician balancing probabilities and agitations entirely from the point of view of his own interests. Stated nakedly, the position was this. Mr. Morant trusted Mr. Lloyd George so little that he shunned the risk of approaching him directly; but he would not be unready or ungrateful if this essential interview could be accomplished through a third party. These two men were the real protagonists in the controversy—David with the smooth stones of eloquence, and Goliath with the sword of the Default Act.

The forces gathered on either side were variously composed. The National Society were perplexed and distressed and wrung their hands

in rather helpless protest. The more stalwart spirits on the Church side were all for law and order, which meant the Default Act and compulsion for the local authorities. The wiser and more responsible leaders in the Church quickly realised the gravity of the whole situation, and watched its development with anxiety. The spark struck in England set Wales on fire. Salaries unpaid, vacancies on the staff unfilled, requisites refused, even coal in winter unprovided, urgent appeals from managers ignored or acknowledged by insulting answers—these were the experiences of the Voluntary school managers in large areas in Wales where the local authorities trifled while the schools starved.

At this moment of chaos and strife I met on February 5th, 1903, Mr. Lloyd George, then, as now, the most powerful person in Wales. Our meeting was accidental. He discussed the situation with candour. I came to the conclusion that it was not his desire to foment this agitation for political purposes, and that he was keenly alive to the harm that was being done. He, too, was I think convinced that I was ready and anxious to clear away anomalies. On February 7th I had an interview with Mr. Morant and told him what had taken place. On February 27th, 1903, at a conference of the representatives of the Welsh County Councils, assembled at Llandrindod, Mr. Lloyd George moved " that in the opinion of this Conference, it is desirable that the Voluntary School Authorities in Wales be approached with the view of effecting a friendly arrangement so as to bring the management of Voluntary schools

into line with the Provided schools, on condition that religious education should be safeguarded and facilities for special religious instruction should be given where demanded by the parent." This invitation, coupled with the offer of facilities, represented at such a moment a surprising step forward attained, indeed only attainable by the courage and the statesmanship of Mr. Lloyd George, who was helped in his task at Llandrindod by Sir Francis Edwards and Lord Kenyon, who spoke with tact and ability.

Not unnaturally, the invitation was regarded with suspicion, especially in South Wales, where a leading newspaper nearly wrecked the whole project by announcing that "the Welsh bishops had been in consultation about the invitation and were about to issue an authorised programme," evidently adverse to the whole proposal. There had been no consultation, and no idea of an authorised programme. Three of the Welsh dioceses stood aloof. A conference, however, was held between representatives of the Voluntary schools of the diocese of St. Asaph and representatives of the County Councils of Wales on March 24th, 1903, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London. The Right Reverend Bishop Mostyn, now Archbishop of Cardiff, was present.

Two things mark out that conference as memorable. It gave birth to the idea of a Concordat. The name spread far and wide, and set men thinking. Concordat was a strange but appealing watchword: once invented it was never lost, and it helped to divert the controversy into a deeper and calmer channel. More memor-

able still, and more interesting, was the part taken by Mr. Lloyd George. His was the genius to discover and the courage to bring together elements of unity and conciliation, where all before seemed division and resentment. To countless good people in Wales his name was little less than a terror. He was the one objective against which all their political antipathies and activities were directed. Some had discovered in him candour and chivalry, the secret of that tact and insight which enabled him to appreciate the real circumstances and tendencies of public affairs. His charm of manner and address seemed to bring even to his opponents oblivion of the past.

The dialogue which he held with Bishop Mostyn in discussing the Roman position on the education question was a delightful illustration of his powers. As the conveners of the Conference, Mr. Lloyd George and I defined at the outset its scope and purpose. "What I suggest," said Mr. Lloyd George, "on the part of the County Councils of Wales is that in the first instance there should be the guarantee of a thorough system of religious instruction in all schools. I do not mean merely non-provided schools, but that this should cover all schools, both provided and non-provided. And if a guarantee is required that the religious instruction is thoroughly efficient, I suggest that there should be a board of examiners who would represent all denominations in order to secure that the instruction is effective." It will also be interesting to quote the following passage from the official report:

The Bishop of St. Asaph: "You will excuse me just putting the question. This is really, after all, the very centre of the position, and we ought to be perfectly clear upon it. We want to know whether the representatives of the County Councils are prepared to give us facilities for definite and dogmatic teaching on one or two days in all elementary schools in the country? That is the question."

Mr. Lloyd George: "I think you will find no difficulty on that point."

After due consultation with Mr. Morant and Mr. Lloyd George, it was clear that the concordat could not be carried out, if there was to be adequate security on both sides, without statutory sanction. It was then determined that I should introduce into the House of Lords a short Bill to pave the way for that sanction and security.

My first step was to cast into the frame of a Bill the main concordat proposals. This done, I asked for an interview with Sir Robert Morant, Secretary of the Board of Education, and on January 28th, 1904, I showed him the rough draft of my proposed Bill. The first remark he made after reading it was, "I was only last night drafting a Bill on the same lines." I explained the position in Wales and the policy which I thought ought to be adopted. He cordially approved. "The Government must vindicate the law, and this they will do." He expressed the desire that I should see Mr. Lloyd George, and he was particularly anxious that every possible effort should be made to prevent the leaders of the opposition declaring against

facilities in all schools. On the same day I had an interview with Mr. Lloyd George and a leading member of the Liberal Party. The Free Church Council, it seemed, "had stiffened lately." I ventured to say that I hoped the Front Opposition Bench would not declare against the facilities or the right of entry. Mr. Herbert Gladstone added: "I think, after discussing the subject with leading men on our side, that the settlement when it comes must be on the lines of your Bill. I don't believe our front opposition men (he mentioned Mr. Asquith, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and Lord Spencer) will commit themselves against facilities."

Soon after this, I consulted some of the leaders of the Church party in the House of Commons. Their attitude was not encouraging. One of the most distinguished members of that party, after hearing of my intention to introduce a Bill, wrote and gave me what he considered were "grave reasons against any one from our side making proposals of a conciliatory or concessive character, and that such proposals would become a serious hindrance to those who are fighting the Church battle, and that it would be absolutely disastrous to discuss any proposal which would admit the possibility of separate treatment from the Roman Catholics, who would consider that they had been betrayed." To these arguments I gave anxious consideration. I decided to introduce my Bill. I received a little later a private communication from Mr. Morant that the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, "had my Bill before him," and I was informed that he wished me to know that he was anxious that "my Bill if brought in should

be drafted as well as possible and in as fit a form as can be devised." Kind and invaluable advice enabled me to see that this was carried out. A very close official eye was kept upon the drafting. All this, naturally, did not in the slightest degree bind the Government to find facilities for my Bill nor even necessarily to bless it on its introduction. It was merely a wise precaution in case the situation should develop favourably for the consideration of the Bill. It seemed to me clear that the Bill would have every possible chance given to it.

In introducing the Bill (entitled Education Transferred Schools Bill) in the House of Lords on May 9th, 1904, I made it abundantly clear that I was wholly and solely responsible for its introduction, that I had not sought the advice or support of leaders or organisations with whom I might naturally be supposed to be in communication, and that the Bill as drafted gave as wide a choice as possible in the terms of agreement and allowed individual schools, groups of schools, or separate denominations to make terms with the local authority under which a school or schools should be transferred. The Bill in its main principle was a natural extension of the Act of 1902. It clothed the local education authority created by that Act with a power which would facilitate the adjustment and adaptation of that Act to meet the special conditions of localities. Under that Act, the necessity for the provision of a new school was in a measure to be decided by the wishes of the parents. Upon the same principle I proposed that the parent should

have what seemed to me to be the right of a parent, viz. the right to decide the character of the religious instruction given to his child. The Bill would give the local education authority and the governing body of any association of Voluntary schools, if so authorised by their managers, power to make an arrangement with reference to the transfer of their schools. It was my belief that you could safely entrust those bodies with freedom of contract. The local education authority, and the Schools Association represented organisations that were not too large for local knowledge, and not too small for common sense.

If the local education authorities were worthy to be entrusted with the secular management of all the elementary schools in their area, they could surely be entrusted with the freedom asked for them in the Bill, and I was confident that the associations and managers of Voluntary schools would be strong enough to protect their own interests.

The Bill would give both sides a free hand in making arrangements touching control, the appointment of teachers, the religious instruction given in the schools, and the renting, leasing and repairing of the buildings. I laid great stress upon the opportunity which such an arrangement would offer for promoting the cause of religious instruction in all the elementary schools within the area.

To me the great danger ahead appeared to be that while religious men were wrangling about the form of instruction to be given, the secularist would meanwhile steal the key of the schools.

Lord Cawdor, who followed, described the Bill as an Enabling Bill, and said that nothing would come to pass under its provisions unless the County Councils and the managers or trustees of the Voluntary schools arrived at an agreement. He thought the Bill deserved careful consideration.

The Archbishop of Canterbury discussed the principle that underlay "the action of the right reverend prelate in endeavouring to promote some peaceful and harmonious solution of the difficulties which unhappily beset them in that matter. The speech of the mover had the advantage of being based on wide and thoroughgoing information and such knowledge as was second to none on the episcopal bench. He reminded the House that he had himself recently endeavoured to bring about a conference with leaders on the other side on the religious part of this controversy. The three principles which he laid down were that religious teaching should prevail throughout all our village schools, that religious teaching should be given by those who could give it genuinely and effectively, and that a place should be found for denominational teaching of some sort. He added that the proposals of the Bill, when they were printed and placed in their hands, would receive his careful attention and study."

Lord Londonderry, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that the Government would give every possible attention to the proposals of the Bill, and he trusted to be able at the next stage of the measure to place the House in full

possession of the views of the Government with regard to the Bill.

Thus the introduction of the Bill was unexpectedly encouraging. The debate attracted public attention to the subject, and Liberal papers like the *Westminster Gazette* saw in this introductory debate "a basis in the bishop's Bill from which a universal and compulsory scheme may some day emerge."

The question of whether and when my Bill should be brought up for a second reading now arose. I never entertained any strong hope of the Bill being passed into law during the session of 1904, and I was confirmed in this view by a letter which I received from Sir Edward Grey, to whom I had sent a draft of the Bill. "I doubt," he said, "whether the present House of Commons could be induced to undertake so difficult a matter (*i.e.* as an Education Act), for though I am hopeful of seeing a settlement arrived at, I do not think it will be come to without some further struggle and controversy, but the introduction of an Amending Bill now will elicit opinion which may be some guide for the future."

The real aim and purpose of my Bill at this stage was to divert the controversy from an unreasoning sectarian agitation on to the lines of a possible concordat. I trust it is not claiming too much for the proposals of the Bill to say that they brought a new atmosphere into the discussion. On April 25th, 1904, Sir William Anson introduced the Default Bill. At the request of those responsible for the Bill, I had seen Mr. Lloyd George, and the interview certainly did

much to smooth matters for Sir William Anson. Indeed, at a later stage of the measure a subsequent interview was described as invaluable and as having effected the postponement of the adjournment and of an acrimonious debate. The question of the second reading of my Bill was thus more or less bound up with the fortunes of the Default Bill. In the interests, as I conceived them, of the main question, I resolved to move a second reading of my Bill.

From the outset it was abundantly clear to me that the right course to pursue was to give the concordat proposals and the concordat spirit the chance of winning their way entirely on their own merits. The official voice of the Church was cautious, and I was told in deprecating tones that it would not be wise to go forward to a second reading without a pledge of full Government support, and that a purely academic discussion upon the second reading would be of little use to the cause of peace and progress, although it might do little harm. On the other hand, the departmental mind frankly told me that there was "no chance of the Government whipping for your Bill against the Opposition, and the most favourable thing that could happen would be for one Opposition whip and one Government whip to tell for your Bill. The Government won't back your Bill if the Opposition trample on or reject it, but they would back it if the Opposition were willing to give it a trial."

Such was the context in which I moved a second reading of my Bill on July 4th, 1904. In doing so, I pointed out that in the existing con-

troversy the representatives of the Voluntary schools were the champions of religious education and their opponents champions of popular control, and that these views were not in my opinion irreconcilable. I desired to substitute "parental" for those gaunt and irritating epithets "denominational" and "undenominational." The right of the parent to decide the faith taught to his child, although a new claim, almost a new discovery, rested on common sense and common justice. Dealing with tests, I pointed out that the Bible teacher to do any good must be a Bible believer, and that a legal test and a real test were not identical. The legal test laxly applied and laxly submitted to was in no sense a real test. Experience showed that there may be very real tests which are not legal and legal tests which are not real. In the ultimate resort these matters are ruled by the predominant feeling and conviction of those interested in the schools, and in practice the main safeguard lay in the religious conviction of the community immediately concerned.

The Marquis of Londonderry, who followed me, recalled a speech of his own at Carnarvon which contained similar suggestions to those in the Bill, and he fully "recognised my good intentions in introducing the measure, and appreciated the great efforts made to solve this very difficult question." Lord Tweedmouth, speaking for the Opposition, said they would certainly not oppose the second reading; the only fault he found with the Bill was that it was not sufficiently comprehensive, and he made this remarkable statement:

"I do not say that it is necessary to maintain every detail of the Cowper-Temple clause for ever. I believe myself that the Bill may perfectly well be made the basis of an agreement. I welcome it as an eirenicon—I mean by that a message of peace—and I hope that later it will be possible to expand it into a concordat."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, dealing at length with the question, "greatly welcomed the words which had fallen from Lord Tweedmouth." His grace pointed out the grounds for dissatisfaction with some of the religious teaching given in Board schools. "He rejoiced to hear that evening from the Opposition side a different tone, and he welcomed it from the bottom of his heart. The discussion which had taken place that night was to his mind reassuring, as showing that they were drawing nearer to the possibility of arriving at a conclusion which should maintain in their fullness the fundamental principles for which they care."

The Earl of Selborne, speaking for the Government, said that "what had passed that night would be looked upon as notable in the history of the controversy." He received with satisfaction the statements of Lord Tweedmouth in his very notable speech, and Lord Selborne concluded with the hope that from what had taken place that night the two sides were beginning to understand each other, and would so be enabled to present a more united front to those who desired a system of secular instruction, and he believed that they had advanced a little in that direction, and therefore he joined in supporting the second reading of the Bill.

The Bill was read a second time and committed to a Committee of the whole House. The debate was certainly notable, and the principle of the Bill, discussed so fully from every point of view, received unanimous acceptance, and certainly seemed to offer a substantial hope that the long controversy was now moving towards a peaceful solution. At that late stage of the session, further progress was impossible. During the recess a memorandum drafted by a skilful hand cast into a practical form the concordat proposals, and I was allowed to say that the Board of Education took no exception to anything in the memorandum which was printed and circulated. The memorandum derived especial interest from the fact that it followed a private discussion at which Sir William Anson, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Morant, Sir Francis Edwards, Mr. Stanley Weyman and myself were present. That discussion was of very great value.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

Mr. Balfour's majority of 70 in 1905 was succeeded in January, 1906, by a Liberal majority of 354. The Education Act helped to swell that majority, and the first and foremost Bill in the legislative programme of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's Government was an Education Bill introduced by Mr. Birrell. Religious instruction was again the main problem to settle. Had secular education been the country's mandate, that colossal majority, in face of such an attenuated opposition, could have insisted upon that solution. One of the first decisive amendments was moved by Mr. Maddison, a Labour member, "that in no school recognised by the local authority shall there be any religious teaching permitted during school hours." This was defeated by 477 to 63.

It would be waste of time to follow this measure through all its stages—from the first enthusiasm with which it was greeted, through the animosities which its discussion aroused, down to its rejection by the House of Lords amid the silence if not the acquiescence of the country at large.

Education preoccupied and baffled Parliament throughout the session of 1908. Mr. Birrell had already left for Ireland, and Mr. McKenna became

President of the Board of Education—soon himself to be succeeded by Mr. Runciman. Three Bills were presented to Parliament that year, viz. Mr. McKenna's Bill, the St. Asaph Bill, and Mr. Runciman's Bill. The history of these three Bills gives a clear record of the session as well as of the difficulties that encompassed elementary education in this country. Mr. McKenna's Bill, presented on February 24th, was less complicated and less exasperating than Mr. Birrell's measure, but Mr. Balfour declared that no desire for a solution of the difficulty could be found in the Bill. Only by the force of an overwhelming party majority and in the face of determined opposition and resentment could the Bill be ultimately carried. The outlook was unpromising, and the conviction spread among the best friends of education that an effort must be made to secure some settlement or agreement. I took counsel with those with whom I had worked on the education problem during the previous six years. It may be well frankly to describe, as I comprehend it, my part and purpose in these efforts. I had throughout acted on my own responsibility, and had not sought official support from the leaders of the Church.

By the kindly aid of expert advice, the St. Asaph Bill was drafted on the principles of that of 1904, but dealing in detail with the whole problem. This draft I submitted to Mr. Lloyd George, who passed it on to Mr. McKenna, with whom I had an interview on March 11th. The granting of universal facilities, the freedom of the teacher, the making religious instruction with a

conscience clause in all schools compulsory, and the transfer of the school buildings, were the points discussed. At his dictation I wrote down this memorandum of his views: "I should welcome the Bill as an expression of the views of the Church of England for dealing with the Church of England schools. Your Bill has the great merit of recognising only one type of public elementary school. It also has this advantage, that it would leave me free to deal differentially and by name with the Roman Catholics and the Jews. I am prepared to accept the freedom of the teacher." At this point Mr. Lloyd George came in and joined in the discussion. They both said that Lord Crewe must be consulted. "We cannot, of course, adopt at once your Bill, but we can give it a benediction." Mr. McKenna added: "I can quite easily incorporate its main provisions in my Bill." Mr. Lloyd George added, "We shall, of course, have great trouble with our people, but the great thing about your Bill is that it offers a settlement over which neither party can exult or boast, and there will be no ground left for the re-opening of the controversy or for future unrest."

The draft was published and attracted at once great interest. Approval and support came from many unexpected quarters. In moving the second reading of the St. Asaph Bill on March 30th, I pointed out that this Bill was an expansion of the Bill introduced in 1904, and that the country, weary of this long controversy, was eager for a settlement, and that in contrast to the antipathies that denominational and undenominational labels aroused, cordial co-operation might

discover an interdenominational substitute for the existing unsatisfying and irritating methods. In dealing with tests I recognised the unanswerable force of the argument that the teacher who was to give religious instruction must believe in what he taught, but a legal test was not the best way of securing this. The history of our own universities showed how friable legal tests were, and how often, instead of being a security for belief, they proved a stimulus to insincerity. The only test worth having was the honour of the teacher himself. If a teacher of his own free will desired to give religious instruction, they had the best security for sincerity which any honest man could give. If they were dealing with a dishonest man, all tests were equally valueless.

The Bill asked for the unqualified abolition of tests, but that abolition was not unqualified if they told the teacher at one moment that he was not obliged to give any religious instruction, and then the next moment told him that even if he wished to do so he was obliged not to give one type of religious instruction. It did not make a man free to take off a handcuff and put on a muzzle. Universal facilities were indispensable to any permanent settlement. The question was often asked, Why are you not satisfied with simple Bible teaching? and the reply was, they desired it to be simple, but they desired it to be teaching. It was proposed in the Bill that the teacher should have perfect freedom.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, while accepting no responsibility for the Bill, said that if the public Press be a fair criterion of general opinion, "a

proposal which virtually, with whatever safeguarding phrases, brings into one camp the *Times* and the *Daily News*, the *Morning Post* and the *British Weekly*, the *Yorkshire Post* and *The Manchester Guardian*—I could easily enlarge the list—cannot altogether be regarded contemptuously either in this House or elsewhere. The proposals in this Bill are large, simple, far-reaching for a rearrangement whereby all schools broadly speaking shall become Provided schools, and all schools shall offer freedom of religious choice to parents and to teachers." He recognised as unanswerable the case for the teachers' religious liberty. He said that every serious, thoughtful, observant man must surely be wishful for a settlement now, not from a mere sense of weariness but on public grounds of the deepest and largest kind in behalf of education itself.

Lord Crewe, giving the view of His Majesty's Government of this Bill, said it had been introduced in a spirit of very real moderation. "His Majesty's Government recognise in this Bill an honest attempt to come to a settlement of this question, and we recognise it all the more fully because we are aware that it is not the first time that the right reverend prelate has made a similar attempt. We regard this Bill as being the expression of the opinion of a very large and, as we believe, of an increasing body of Churchpeople as to the general lines on which this question ought to be settled. Recognising that, we regard the production of this Bill as being a distinct assistance to my right hon. friend (*i.e.* Mr. McKenna) in laying his proposals before Parliament and the country."

Lord Lansdowne was puzzled by the attitude of the Government. "His Majesty's Government had an Education Bill of their own. We have been always under the impression that they have formed an inexorable resolve to pass that Bill, and that their Education Bill represented the last word on educational compromise. It is remarkable that the real last word should be spoken from the episcopal bench." Like previous speakers, he recognised the need of a settlement of this most important controversy, and said that "while that controversy raged the cause of education was suffering. He certainly regarded the provisions of the Bill as a long step in the direction of the kind of compromise which he would like to see arrived at." I readily accepted the suggestion that the debate should be adjourned. Whatever criticisms were passed on details, the main principles of the Bill, although startling, had been welcomed with an approval as wide as it was surprising.

The Representative Church Council met on May 7th. Mr. Cripps (now Lord Parmoor) moved a resolution in opposition to the Government Bill on the ground that it violated the principles of justice and religious equality. They must preserve the principle of denominational teaching as well as denominational schools. Lord Hugh Cecil considered the present time inopportune for a conference. The concessions made to the Roman Catholics showed them what was to be gained by standing firm. The Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Gore) asked for absolute equality of treatment for denominational and

undenominational teaching. I ventured to point out that the education question was prominently before the electors in 1906, that a majority unprecedented in size was returned pledged to enforce the principle of public control and the abolition of tests, and that the country with equal clearness had given its judgment against the purely secular system of education. The Church claimed to be national; it would weaken that claim if the Church did not uphold as of first importance the duty of a Christian nation to see that the children of the nation were Christianly and virtuously brought up. The present was an opportunity presented to the Church to exercise with unexampled power its guidance and moderating influence.

Mr. McKenna, in moving the second reading of his Bill on the 18th of May, 1908, said, "What I have in mind is what I think the House would like to have introduced into the debate in its earliest stage, and that is the consideration of the introduction in another place of the much-discussed Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The Bill introduced by the Bishop of St. Asaph cannot be treated as an ordinary Bill introduced by an unofficial member." Throughout the summer the education question filled a large space in the public Press, and discussion turned mainly upon the St. Asaph Bill, which was to be the essential basis of the new Government Bill. What followed in the autumn constituted a climax in the long struggle to reach a balanced settlement.

The Parliamentary White Paper Cd. 4421, issued in December, 1908, is still available for reference and will put those interested in the

problem in possession of all the facts.* The Archbishop, writing to the Prime Minister, placed on record the conditions he considered reasonable for a settlement. Following this correspondence, the new Education Bill was introduced by Mr. Runciman and printed on November 20th, 1908. The main principles of that Bill were to confine rate aid to Provided schools, to free teachers from religious tests, to secure religious instruction in conformity with the Cowper-Temple clause in all Provided schools, and to provide universal facilities for denominational instruction to be given to those children whose parents desired them to receive it. Provision was made for "contracting out," for transfer, and for finance. The Bill was canvassed and studied with intense interest throughout the country.

The Liberation Society passed a resolution expressing their disapproval of making religious instruction compulsory in public schools, and of "conferring the right of entry upon religious sects." Dr. Gore and others organised what was called a Religious Equality Committee "to oppose the new Bill as unfair and unwise." The National Society took up a strong line of opposition, and in a letter signed by Lord Hugh Cecil, the Dean of Canterbury, and Lord Halifax, the clergy were invited to lay before their people in their churches a declaration of policy "intended to wreck the negotiation which the Archbishop of Canterbury had thought right to carry on with a view to the permanent settlement of the education question." This proceeding was formally

* See also *Times*, December 3rd, 1908, for debate in Parliament.

deprecated in a letter signed by eleven diocesan bishops. The secularists, represented by the Liberation Society, the party led by Dr. Gore, that considerable body of opinion which was guided by Dr. Wace, the Dean of Canterbury, and the National Society—all these forces were forming in the ranks of war. Most remarkable of all was the Settlement Committee, the starting of which was due to Sir Lewis Dibdin, Mr. George MacMillan, and others, the hon. secretaries being Sir Michael Sadler and the Revd. T. E. Harvey. The support given to this committee came not only from clergy in all parts of the country, but notably from teachers, including head masters of National schools, assistant teachers, and from a great majority of Oxford and Cambridge heads of colleges, Professors and Fellows.

A clear sequence and estimate of events will be best maintained if we keep in mind the following dates. The private negotiations with the Government, begun in May, were continued in the autumn, and the first official record of these efforts appears in the printed letter of October 29th from the Archbishop to the Prime Minister. The negotiations which preceded this letter had for some weeks been constant and difficult, and nothing but the Archbishop's patience and statesmanship kept these early attempts from the rocks on to which they were nearly driven more than once by ardent counsellors. The Archbishop's letter of October 29th laid down the conditions upon which he could co-operate in securing a settlement. On November 10th the Prime Minister replied, giving the general terms of a settlement upon

which in the meantime he, the Archbishop and Mr. Runciman had in conversation practically agreed. But there were "still remaining two outstanding issues of great importance, viz. statutory facilities for denominational instruction in Council schools, secondly, the freedom of head teachers to give denominational teaching." The Prime Minister said upon this: "The Government adhered to their opinion on the merits of these two crucial points, but if for the sake of securing a settlement you and those with whom you act will give way on one, we will concede the other. In other words, if you will meet us over the head teacher, we will acquiesce in a statutory right of entry to all Council schools." He also added these words: "That the opposing parties upon this question have come nearer to an agreement than they have probably ever been before."

These two points were crucial, and Mr. Runciman wrote to me on November 10th as follows: "I met the Nonconformist M.P.'s yesterday, and succeeded in securing their support to statutory facilities, but not to allowing the head teacher to volunteer (*i.e.* to give denominational instruction). I have done my utmost and risked so much that I cannot go or carry any one else any farther. I earnestly trust that you and other prominent Churchmen will not allow this opportunity to be destroyed." The question of the head teachers alone remained now. The Archbishop, writing on November 14th to the Prime Minister on this main outstanding difficulty of the head teacher, said: "I should myself be prepared, while maintaining the principle of the freedom of the head teacher,

to acquiesce in something less than the full requirements we have made in this matter, rather than sacrifice the opportunity of obtaining a balanced settlement of our difficulties," and in a second letter dated November 17th, he acknowledges the receipt of the draft Bill sent to him by Mr. Runciman, and after noticing some points of detail the Archbishop said: "In expressing assent to the provisions as they stand, I must, of course, reserve the right to reconsider such assent in the event of amendments being carried which affect the general structure of the measure."

The Prime Minister, writing on November 18th, wished to know more precisely what the Archbishop desired with regard to the head teacher. Most unfortunately, at this critical moment the Archbishop was ill and unable to write himself. The Bishop of Southwark, on his behalf, asked if Mr. Runciman was able to allow (1) the power of building new contracting-out schools, (2) the right of existing head teachers to give denominational instruction in transferred Voluntary schools during the full tenure of his existing head mastership, (3) to give a clause permitting local education authorities to form committees of advice in matters connected with religious teaching." Mr. Runciman, replying on November 19th, said that for the sake of a balanced settlement they were prepared to allow these three points. Mr. Runciman's Bill was printed on November 20th, and in moving the second reading on November 25th he frankly recognised that "the proposals now before the House are not the Government's ideal terms, they are not the

Nonconformists' ideal terms, and they are not the Church and Roman Catholic ideal terms, but if they were the ideal terms of any one party, they would not then embody a settlement. These terms have been arrived at slowly by eliminating as many points of difference as possible."

The second reading was carried by a majority of 166 (325 to 159). So far one difficulty after another had been overcome—control, facilities, right of entry, freedom of the head teacher. An unexpected stumbling-block now appeared, viz. the scale of grants for the "contracting-out" schools and the terms for transfer. The Archbishop, in a letter dated November 30th, sent Mr. Runciman a memorandum upon the financial provisions in the Bill and gave thirteen instances to illustrate the inadequacy of these provisions. Mr. Runciman, on December 2nd, "felt bound to point out to the Archbishop that he had been materially misinformed. In the cases quoted, the actual cost of new schools in various parts of the country was given in more than one of the cases cited where building operations had not been begun. In another case, the managers were deferring building until the fate of the Bill was settled. Two of the schools mentioned were completed before 1900 and could hardly be treated as new schools.

"It was found on investigation that actual cost in these figures included an estimate of the value of existing old buildings and an estimate of the present value of the site, ignoring the fact that some of the sites had been provided free of charge by exchange. These figures, therefore, so far

from showing the actual cost of new schools, are in fact largely estimates of the cost or value of schools, including in some cases old sites and buildings, with an arbitrary addition representing the architect's individual opinion of the value of the site for commercial purposes. I may perhaps add that the first two schools mentioned in your list were built at the cost of the L. and S.W. Railway Company to replace some old buildings compulsorily acquired by them, and in the third case the site and a sum of £3,000 were obtained by exchange with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. I feel sure that you could not have been aware of the fact that the figures on which you based your arguments had been compiled in this extraordinary way." Here I must state the circumstances under which the Archbishop's letter containing these figures were compiled. The Archbishop was very ill at the time, and he had to depute to others the composition of his answer.

Nothing could be more chivalrous than the way in which the Archbishop took the responsibility for these figures and statements which had been put together by others. The Bill was now near the rocks upon which a meeting of the Representative Church Council, on December 3rd, finally and firmly pinned it. My own diary for that memorable day—the best record of the fact that I can give—runs thus: "I went to 11, Downing Street, at 9.30 a.m., to meet Mr. Lloyd George, and by his wish I passed through to 10, Downing Street, to see the Prime Minister as he came out of his room. Having listened to all I had to say about the situation, he said: 'I am afraid, bishop,

that the position is hopeless, and that what has happened means a recrudescence of Nonconformist opposition.' I then saw the Archbishop before the Church Council met. The discussion there killed the Bill.

"Late that afternoon, when the Council ended, I had an interview with Mr. Lloyd George and another leading member of the Cabinet, and after a long discussion they accepted the view I ventured to put before them that the only course now left was to postpone the Bill. They promised to support this view at the Cabinet meeting, and I went on late that night to Lambeth and reported this to the Archbishop. He read me his letter to Mr. Runciman in which he chivalrously tried to defend those strange figures which those acting for the Archbishop had put into the letter when he was too ill himself to write. I told him frankly the impression those figures had made. After another interview in Downing Street, about midnight, I got back here (to my rooms) after a *terrific* day."

On December 4th the Prime Minister moved that the Bill be withdrawn, and he concluded his speech with these words: "I am not ashamed to confess that I never experienced a more heavy disappointment." So ended the Bill and this effort for a national settlement. It may be useful to review now the influences that brought about this result. After the withdrawal of Mr. McKenna's Bill in May, the Nonconformists had been consulted at every stage in the drafting of the new Bill, and they responded with public spirit to the appeals made to them. It was not

without a struggle that many of them consented to acquiesce in concessions which they had resolutely opposed before. The publication of the White Paper with the correspondence between the Archbishop and the Government aroused their suspicion and opposition, and the publication of those figures, coupled with the debate in the Representative Church Council, made the postponement if not the abandonment of the Bill inevitable.

From the political side, the support given by the Unionist party was never cordial. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton and some other leading Unionists must not be included in this category. On the other hand, the attitude of Mr. Balfour and of Lord Robert Cecil and his immediate friends was critical but not constructive, cold but not conciliatory. They did not want the compromise. In Mr. Asquith's phrase, they were "gloomy pessimists" as to the future of the Bill. The party led by Dr. Gore, then the Bishop of Birmingham, may claim a large share in the defeat of the Bill. Dr. Gore, in a memorandum which he published, emphasised the loss which the Bill would bring to the Church. He did not think that there was much to be gained from facilities. The Church under the Bill would lose their appointment of teachers, and he dwelt with emphasis upon this consideration: "If Churchmen are persuaded to accept the proposals of this Bill they will be separated by an impassable gulf from those who have hitherto been their strongest allies"—the Roman Catholics. He said that the Bill proposed a kind of religious teaching which

he "regarded as the weakest and the worst." He did not believe that the Committee to be set up under the Bill for religious instruction would be valuable. They would be permissive, they would have no control over the doctrine of the teacher, and they would have no control over the selection of the teacher to give religious instruction. He suggested as his remedy a creed register.

In 1918 Dr. Gore (who meanwhile had become the Bishop of Oxford) issued to the whole Church in a notable letter his latest views on the problem. He foresaw that when the war was over large structural and other demands would be made upon the Voluntary schools, and that "the establishment of district or central schools would knock the bottom out of the present system." A creed register he regarded as "a basis that would not be accepted. The mere teaching of formulas to children, even though the formulas are right formulas, has extraordinarily little permanent religious effect. We cannot look to the teachers as a profession to be favourable to the existing system of denominational schools. I am inclined to believe that as regards the religious teaching in Provided schools we could arrive at an understanding which would greatly improve it. Suppose we had established by statute interdenominational councils authorised to direct and supervise the religious teaching in Provided schools. All this only concerns schools which are now undenominational, but the increasing majority of the children of the country would be educated in such schools, and it would be, in my judgment,

a very great gain if they could become interdenominational and be controlled by the free judgment of an interdenominational council."

With this last proposal I venture to repeat the words I used in introducing my Bill on March 31st, 1908: "I should much prefer to call this type of instruction interdenominational, rather than undenominational, and I would most gladly welcome any proposal which would provide for the framing of the syllabus of religious instruction to be drawn up by an interdenominational committee representative of the various denominations in each local area. Any one who has followed the meetings of the Student Movement in this country, and its meetings last year at Conisheads and this year at Liverpool, will thankfully recognise that there is a vast and precious field of co-operation open and common to those who are prepared to meet and work together in a spirit of cordial Christian fellowship. The experience of other countries must, of course, be quoted with reservations, but, making the largest allowance for these, I derive hope and strength from the fact that in America interdenominationalism is a great and growing power for the spread of Christianity."

Dr. Gore concludes his remarkable statements with these words: "To persist in our policy of sixteen years ago is to fight a losing battle, a battle in which the substantial victory throughout the country as a whole, both in towns and villages, will lie with undenominationalism in the old sense and with its defects unmodified." Those who were bitterly disappointed at the failure of a long-sustained effort in 1908 accept with gratitude

the appearance, in 1918, of Dr. Gore as the champion of proposals which he was mainly responsible for rejecting.

The Bill failed, but the principles which it contained have certainly made striking progress. The position of the Voluntary schools has become more critical since the passing of the Act of 1918, while the spirit of opposition and of religious antipathies has undergone a profound change. The whole atmosphere in which the religious problem is now discussed has been one of growing fellowship and co-operation. Concordats and the spirit of concordats have shown themselves in various parts of the kingdom. In Wales the local education authorities and the leaders of the various denominations have taken counsel with the representatives of the Voluntary schools to frame terms which would really represent the provisions of Mr. Runciman's Bill.

Old prejudices still linger and are not all at once overcome, but the intense bitterness which made them actively and powerfully operative is steadily disappearing. It is not too sanguine to hope that the day is not far distant when religious instruction will hold as permanent and unquestioned a place in the education of the child as any other subject taught in our elementary schools. Once that point is conceded and its value authenticated by statutory provision, the whole position will change and religious instruction will no longer be regarded as negligible or contentious.

CHAPTER XI

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

The General Election in 1906 gave the Liberal Party a majority of 354.

Early in the year Mr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Evans gave notice of a Welsh Church Suspensory Bill. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, writing in March, 1906, to Mr. Evans, gave an assurance that "Welsh Disestablishment remains an integral part of the legislative programme of the Liberal Party, and will be dealt with at the first available opportunity," and concluded his letter by frankly telling Mr. Evans that "he was sure Mr. Evans would not like to put the Government in the position of having withheld support from the Bill on purely tactical grounds, as it would be misconstrued and would do harm to the cause of Welsh Disestablishment." The Welsh party were a negligible group, and a repetition of the threats of revolt (in 1892–95) could only cover their authors with ridicule.

The Prime Minister, in June 1906, appointed a Royal Commission "to inquire into the origin, nature, amount, and application of the temporal endowments and other properties of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and into the provision made, and the work done, by

the Churches of all denominations in Wales and Monmouthshire for the spiritual welfare of the people, and the extent to which the people avail themselves of such provision, and to report thereon." The nine Commissioners appointed were Lord Justice Vaughan Williams (Chairman), Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir John Williams, Bart., K.C.V.O., Frank Edwards, Esq., M.P., the Ven. Archdeacon Owen Evans, S. T. Evans, Esq., K.C., M.P., the Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., J. E. Greaves, Esq., Professor Henry Jones, LL.D., and R. M. Thomas, Esq. (Secretary).

Upon the first announcement of the Commission, Mr. Thomas (afterwards Lord Rhondda) asked in the House of Commons "if before the Welsh Disestablishment Bill in 1894 any State inquiry by Commission was made into the conditions and temporalities of the Established Church of Wales or into the position of the Free Churches," the Prime Minister replied that no such inquiry had been made. "That omission," he added, "was in my opinion a somewhat unfavourable one, owing to the absence of official information on the questions which have now been submitted to a Royal Commission." This was indeed a courageous statement. Official information had been throughout the controversy the reasonable yet rejected demand of Churchmen. In and out of Parliament the case for Welsh Disestablishment had been built up upon facts and figures which had never been officially tested, but again and again proved to be incorrect. By Churchmen smarting under the constant irritation of these inaccuracies, the Royal Commission was

hailed as a great deliverance. The appointment of a distinguished Judge as President of the Commission was a proof of the fearless justice of the Government and a pledge that every effort would be made to elicit the whole truth. Such were the high hopes aroused.

The Commission met in October, 1906. Both sides immediately set to work in Wales to gather and tabulate the fullest information in answer to the inquiries of the Royal Commission. The Church Defence organisations and the various Liberationist agencies spent vast sums of money upon these compilations which were submitted to the Royal Commission. Witnesses who were expert and competent to give evidence under the main heads of inquiry were invited betimes to appear before the Commission. Eight or ten fat Blue books contain a verbatim report of the evidence given by the various witnesses. Four or five leaner Blue books give in full the appendices and indices. Every religious denomination in Wales, including the Roman Catholics, sent in a schedule of their statistics. The Report of the Commission was published in December, 1910—more than four years from the date of its appointment. However arid mere figures may be, no just account of the records of this Commission can be given in general terms, without recording in detail the methods and the inquisition adopted.

Two illustrations—one from the Nonconformists, the other from the Church—will suffice. The return of the statistics and finance of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists was submitted to the Commission by Mr. John Owen, a highly

respected member of that denomination. This admirable return was fairly typical of those presented by the other Nonconformist bodies. In that record an exhaustive account from 1885 to 1905 was given of their places of worship, their ministers, their communicants, their Sunday school teachers and scholars, their mission work, their property and income. The estimated value of their property was £2,822,211, and of their annual income £278,295. A most interesting account was given of the Calvinistic Methodist Mission in the Khassia and Jiantia Hills—described by an English Churchman who is recognised as one of the great authorities on mission work, as "among the best-managed missions in India." This mission began in 1861, numbering all told 158, and in 1905 the number was 22,498. A member of this body gave £177,727 for the endowment of this mission, and recent reports show that the progress made up to the present date is great and real. A careful report of the temperance work and of the various societies engaged in social work was given by several witnesses before the Commission.

My next illustration is the return presented to the Commission for the diocese of St. Davids by Mr. Frank Morgan, then Tutor of Keble College, Oxford, and Public Examiner. This report was ranged under four headings: (*a*) general parochial statistics; (*b*) provision made by voluntary contributions from Easter, 1905, to Easter, 1906; (*c*) provision made by voluntary contributions from 1840 to 1906; (*d*) church buildings, clergy and services, 1831 to 1906. The fullest

information was given of the population, churches, mission-rooms, accommodation, Sunday services (English, Welsh, Bi-lingual), communicants, Sunday schools, day schools, confirmations, and baptisms. In the diocese of St. Davids between 1840 and 1906 the total sum contributed for Church building, restoration and furnishing was £1,002,798, for parochial buildings and churchyards £269,985, for day schools £298,699, for the clergy £172,816 from 1898 to 1906.

The records from the other three dioceses correspond with that of St. Davids in form and substance. The Report of the Commission states that the statistical information as to communicants was as follows:

Church of England	193,081
Baptists	143,835
Calvinistic Methodists	170,617
Congregationalists or Independents	175,147
Wesleyans	40,811

These figures rest upon the authority of the several denominations, and are not official in the sense of being given on the responsibility of the Commission.

Certainly more interesting, and perhaps more valuable, was the evidence given by individual witnesses before the Commission. The Report, be it observed, states that the Commissioners do not think it their duty to perform the almost impossible and very controversial task of ascertaining the historic and legal origin of Church property, which includes property of such ancient origin as glebe-land and tithe. Although the Commission deprived themselves of the pleasure

of attempting to solve an almost impossible problem, they allowed their inquiries to wander away from their strict reference into strange and what appeared to be irrelevant regions. They seemed to revel in seizing upon and discussing abstruse and highly controversial theological doctrines. The affinities of the Calvinistic Methodists to the Baptists and to the Congregationalists, and of the Unitarians to both, evoked some challenging questions. Quite interesting was a definition of the exact relation, or rather difference, between the Calvinistic Methodists and the Wesleyan Methodists, and especially interesting in Wales was the origin and the use, or the abuse, of the word "Presbyterian." The Revd. John Owen Thomas, Secretary of the General Assembly of the Methodists, is the witness, and Lord Hugh Cecil the interrogator.

Lord Hugh : "We have had evidence to show that old-fashioned Calvinism is practically not now taught, either by the Methodists or any one else ?"

Mr. Thomas : "It depends upon what is meant by old-fashioned Calvinism."

Lord Hugh : "I can give you illustrations. The famous Lambeth article on it is a very good one. 'Some are predestined to life, and some are reprobated unto death.'"

Mr. Thomas : "That is not in our Confession of Faith."

Lord Hugh : "I think I can show you it arises out of your Confession of Faith."

Mr. Thomas : "I daresay logical consequences could be drawn which we utterly repudiate."

Lord Hugh : "It is strongly maintained that

only certain are elected; that Christ did not die for all, and so on. It is in Article 18. It is ordained that His person should stand in the stead of those persons, and those only, who have been given to Him to redeem?"

Mr. Thomas: "Yes, there was a great discussion as to these words (at the time the Confession of Faith was before the Association)."

Lord Hugh, examining the Revd. John Morgan Jones, Ex-Moderator of the Calvinistic Methodists, asked, "Is the Confession of Faith what you would call theologically Calvinistic?"

Mr. Jones: "Yes."

Lord Hugh: "Does the Calvinistic Methodist still hold a Calvinistic theology?"

Mr. Jones: "Certainly."

Lord Hugh: "The ordinary minister of the Church would preach sovereign decrees?"

Mr. Jones: "Yes, but still we do not regard every doctrine as necessary to be preached. The decrees have no immediate connection with us so far as we know, still we appreciate them very much. We refer to them now and again, but we do not preach them as a doctrine."

Lord Hugh: "Every minister is now effectively expected to believe Calvinistic theology?"

Mr. Jones: "Yes, he subscribes to this in his ordination."

The examination in this, as in all the cases of a similar kind, was conducted by Lord Hugh Cecil with perfect courtesy and sympathy, and with a knowledge surprising and often surpassing those who were of necessity experts in the different denominations. The fact was brought out that

between the Calvinistic Methodists and the Congregationalists the doctrinal frontier was no longer distinctly marked. An Ex-Moderator of the Calvinistic Methodists, in answer to Lord Hugh, replied thus: "As I understand Welsh Congregationalism, their doctrines are the same as ours exactly." Not less interesting were the answers given by Principal Edwards, of the South Wales Baptist College, Cardiff. Asked if there was any point in which the Baptists differed in doctrine from the Calvinistic Methodists, he said: "I do not think, speaking generally, that there is any essential point; I think our theology is common to the Churches generally." He recognised that baptism by immersion was not regarded by a large number of Baptists "as being in any way an essential of Church membership."

Between the Calvinistic and the Wesleyan Methodists earlier differences in doctrine had disappeared and only those of polity remained. The Unitarians, originally called "Presbyterians," were a small body in Wales, and their able representative indicated that a change had been taking place in the doctrines they taught, and that they had moved away from the old priestly teaching to that of Dr. Martineau. "I may say there are very few, and I think I may add none really, who do not believe in the divinity of Christ. They do not believe in the deity of Christ, but they believe in the divinity of Christ." All this information elucidating the teaching of the different Nonconformist bodies in Wales, has been profitably brought to light by the inquiries of the Commission. The Revd. M. Griffith, representative of the

Calvinistic Methodists, said that he could not tell whether the doctrinal articles of the Church of England included the article referring to the three creeds. To Lord Hugh's question if the Apostles' Creed was used in the services of the Calvinistic Methodists, the answer was "never." This answer brought out with especial clearness the distinctive character of the teaching of the Church. Time has wrought great changes in forms and tenets, and it would be unfair even to imply that those changes had been limited to the Nonconformist bodies. On the other hand, there still remain essential differences which may be resolved as the spirit of fellowship and a yearning for unity gather fresh strength.

The statistical and historical information about the Church was laid before the Commission by Mr. Frank Morgan. The drudgery and the toil of securing and verifying accuracy and completeness in these returns were great; certainly no more brilliant and better-equipped witness than Mr. Morgan appeared before the Commission. One typical and delightful instance of his humour and alertness was shown when questions were being asked about a census and especially about the taking of the census in Ireland. Dr. Fairbairn, intervening, said: "A good many people, among whom I should personally be reckoned, would object to answering a question of the State as to religion; that is between the soul and its Maker." Mr. Morgan replied: "I quite appreciate that objection, but I do not see how filling up a census form is making any statement as between God and man."

Seventeen years ago the Commission published their Report, and a calm estimate of their work can now be formed. At the risk of repetition, attention may be called to the colossal records published by the Commission. The Minutes of Evidence, which include only the questions and answers of the interrogator and the witness, form three large Blue books; the type is small, each page double-columned, and the total number of pages (not columns) is 1518. The questions, with rare exceptions, exceeded the answers in length—frequently a question numbering from five to twenty lines was answered by a monosyllable. The questions numbered 48,614. The Blue book index to these three volumes—compressed but exhaustive and intelligible—fills 312 pages. The appendices and statistical schedules fill a number of other Blue books. The value of all this information may be variously estimated. The columns of statistics may in the future be a valuable source of reference. They certainly finally exposed the inaccuracy of some facts and figures that for nearly fifty years had debased the political currency.

The evidence offered by witnesses of high character, representing the various denominations, brought to light facts of great importance, which had in the lapse of years escaped observation and the emphasis which their importance claimed. For the moment we leave out the Roman Catholics and the Church of England and call attention to the fact that the doctrinal differences legally embodied in trust deeds which formed the standards of the various

denominations were no longer valid or operative. Pre-eminently striking was the reluctance of some of the leading witnesses to recognise the importance or even the existence of the standards by which they were legally bound. A recurrent phrase declared that the various denominations differed not in doctrine but in polity. Even the Unitarian or Welsh Presbyterian denomination found itself little divided from some of the other denominations. The Revd. Morgan Gibbon, a member of the Commission and a man of distinction, emphasised the possibility and the importance of co-operation, and he appeared to see in it a growing hope of reunion. The Nonconformists had broken down the barrier of the Trust Deed, and with the fall of the barrier fell the narrow and isolating tenets of ruder and earlier days. Even the Calvinism of the early Methodists in Wales, denuded of its reality, had lost its terrors, and had become emptied of any spiritual or moral influence.

The career of the Welsh Church Commission was so unlike that of any other Royal Commission that it invites, almost demands, a brief biography. Of the nine Commissioners originally appointed, three resigned before the Commission was six months old, and their successors were gazetted in May, 1907. The hearing of evidence ended in June, 1908, and from that date onward the meetings of the Commission were private. Presumably the drafting of the Report was the one subject to settle. These private meetings were continued until January, 1909, when the chairman submitted a draft report for the consideration of his colleagues.

Discussions on this report were prolonged until March, 1910. The fifteen months thus occupied were not harmonious, and they exhausted patience and endurance. A report there must be, and the Government made that clear to the Commission. At last seven of the Commissioners, realising the situation, signified their willingness to sign the last edition of the report which had been passing to and fro between its author and his colleagues. But a condition was attached to their signature. Each member was at liberty to publish with the Report a memorandum or a note or both. Five of the seven members took full advantage of this condition. This disembowelled Report was signed on November 1st, 1910, and only became public property some weeks later. Three of the Commissioners in their published memoranda complained of the conduct of the inquiry by the chairman. They alleged that the chairman "had acted throughout in an arbitrary and overbearing manner both in his personal relations with individual Commissioners and in his conduct of the public and private meetings of the Commission." During the strife on the Report, Mr. R. M. Thomas resigned the Secretaryship in September, 1909. Before the Commission began work he resolved, after his second interview with the chairman, to send in his resignation, which he only withdrew at my earnest intercession.

The criticism of the conduct of the inquiry was not without foundation. To a frequent listener the chairman did seem difficult. He bestowed unwearying toil on the work. But he

interpolated at inordinate length irrelevant stories and experiences; while so often himself outside the terms of reference he pounced upon his colleagues upon the vaguest or no suspicion of wandering beyond the reference. The picture of the Commission presented to an outsider was not without a certain grim humour. Here was this great massive man with prolonged and ponderous labour gnawing at some meatless bone, while his colleagues the moment he began to speak assumed an accustomed, almost automatic, attitude of folded arms and bowed heads—occasionally a head was raised with an expression on the face of despair or disgust. But there were pleasant interludes when the charm of an old-world courtesy and the flashes of a powerful mind made the aggrieved forget the past.

Unhappily the longevity of this strange Body extinguished these periods of relief. Be it admitted that this chair was not a comfortable one to sit in. This was not an ordinary Commission to advise Parliament on some drainage scheme or railway extension. But here were nine gentlemen, summoned by the King to report on a religious question affecting the oldest Christian Church in the island and raising the whole principle of the connection of Church and State. Such a task called for scrupulous fairness and courtesy. Figures played the largest part in the whole inquiry. Columns of figures filled one Blue book after another. Some of the Commissioners hissed figures at an opponent-witness or at a colleague. One Commissioner, not a mathematician, mobilised a regiment of

figures against a certain witness and was put out of action by a neglected fraction. Even here there was humour ; the same people were counted three times, and the counting was seriously upheld. If figures were to count it would have appeared that the proper course to have taken would have been to decide whether they were to be taken officially by the Government or presented unofficially by the various denominations. If the latter course were accepted, then the figures would have been accepted without comment, but not adopted. Be this as it may, the multiplication table hardly supplies the true test or standard on a question of religion. It is enough to say that the Report of the Commission and its proceedings had no influence upon the political controversy. It would have been better if the Commission had died in May, 1907. Only the patience and capacity of the Secretary kept it alive until 1909.

One further inquiry of a very different kind must be mentioned. Upon the motion of Viscount St. Aldwyn on June 25th, 1914, a Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to inquire and report, first, whether the constitution of the Convocations of the Church of England had ever been altered by Act of Parliament without the assent and against the protest of Convocation ; and, secondly, whether the memorials alleged to have been signed by Nonconformists in Wales against disendowment of the Church represented a real and increasing objection on the part of Welsh Nonconformists to disendowment.

The Committee consisted of Viscount St.

Aldwyn, in the Chair, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Halsbury, Earl of Crawford, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Lord Courtney of Penwith. During the six days that this Committee sat, Sir L. Dibdin, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of Wells, Lord Parmoor, and the Dean of Durham gave evidence of high value on the first reference; while on the second reference several witnesses from Wales, Churchmen and Nonconformists, gave evidence. This Committee, though short-lived, gave information of permanent value to the whole Church.

Criticism is cheap and easy. Both inquiries helped to do the thing which at the outset was chiefly needed, viz. to spread accurate information. But the day for Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Inquiries had long passed. At an earlier stage they might have done much good. The force first mobilised to disendow and disestablish the Church in Wales was composed of powerful contingents. These contingents were different in their aims, but one in their discontent. Their individual grievances helped to swell the general cry for reform and redress. The land and all connected with it were the home of anomalies and oppression. The decline of domestic industries and their transference from hamlet to town caused displacement of population by whom the idea and the power of combination were slowly realised. A vast population was rapidly gathering in the South Wales Coal-fields. The conditions under which they lived and worked in the first half of the last century are described in various Blue books, and some of

them reproduced in *The Rise of Modern Industry* (Hammond).

I lived in the South Wales Coal-fields sixty years ago and watched the working of the truck-shop, the employment of pit-girls, the long hours and the deadly toil of the puddler with his assistant boy. The worker at every turn in his life was under the power of the coal and iron masters, of whom, from personal knowledge, I can say that few were worthy of respect. Times were changing then and the rumblings of a storm were audible even to an inexperienced observer.

I was present in the Square at Merthyr Tydfil at the declaration of the poll in 1868. Mr. Henry Richard and Mr. Richard Fothergill were returned, and Mr. Bruce, afterwards Lord Aberdare, the old member, was not elected. Mr. Richard, returned by a large majority, was the popular candidate; it was a dense and threatening crowd. Never before or after did the pent-up anger and passion for redress so impress and appal me. Armed with a vote, the colliers made their voices heard. In 1872 there was a lock-out. In 1873 and 1875 there were strikes, first of 60,000, next of 50,000 in South Wales. In 1871 the motion for Welsh Disestablishment came before the House of Commons. The Liberationists had selected the psychological moment for their campaign and propaganda. Insensibility to accuracy was without doubt a predominating mark of the speeches, and especially of the pamphlets and literature, of the Welsh Liberationists. The first duty of Churchmen was to take up arms against this sea of misrepresentation. It was

odious, hateful work. Small wonder that the older and dignified clergy shrank from taking part in the besmirching controversy. Moreover, the broad cloth and the solemnity of the Liberationist leaders created a misleading atmosphere. Loyal and courageous Churchmen withstood the temptation of the conscientious objector and bravely did their part in combating charges made against the Church, for which there was no foundation. They struggled on amid heart-breaking discouragements and unprovoked insolence, but their labour was not in vain. They were upheld by the conviction that once the true facts of the case were made known there would be a change of feeling. That conviction, as far as I am personally concerned, has never been shaken. The Liberationists themselves, by their own extravagances, did much to disgust their own supporters.

A tribute of the most grateful remembrance is due to those who toiled for truth and justice in this cause—their number is too great to enumerate. Two exceptions—Canon Bevan, the historian, and Bishop Owen, the statistician—must be made. Both laboured throughout the whole controversy. Everything Canon Bevan wrote was marked by the accuracy of a great scholar and the outlook of a broad and judicial mind. He combated with passionless precision the fallacies and the falsehoods which in the name of history were broadly circulated. It was notable that the Liberationists left Canon Bevan severely alone. No allusion was ever made by them to his writings. They knew it was useless

to do so and held their peace. He found in his own bishop, Dr. Owen of St. Davids, a man of keen intellect and fervid temperament, who worked with unresting energy in the defence of the Church.

Dr. Owen, a master of the Welsh language, was listened to throughout Wales. Thousands gathered to hear him, and among the thousands who heard him were thousands of Nonconformists. Few men understood the undenominational mind so thoroughly and so sympathetically. He seemed to know intuitively the workings of the Welsh Nonconformist conscience and the exact angle at which it could be pricked by the arrows of truth and religion. A vast audience gathered to hear him in the South Wales Coal-field, and on the platform was a distinguished member of the Government, who told me that "he was electrified by the speech of which, being in Welsh, he did not understand a word." Even the name of Mr. McKenna the bishop presented to his audience with an accent of scorn and ridicule that aroused inextinguishable laughter. "Why," said the statesman to me, "he is the most perfect actor I have ever heard." The toil that he went through could only have been borne by a man of enormous strength.

He spoke in every great city in the Kingdom, and he helped more than any other living man to arouse among the English people some enthusiasm for the Church in Wales. His nearest friends knew the vastness of the work he did for the Commission, presided over by Lord Justice Vaughan Williams. For months he starved

himself of sleep in the task of analysing, compiling and marshalling the evidence to be laid before the Commission. Few were able to share the continuous strain that he uncomplainingly endured. With his devoted friend and co-worker Archdeacon Owen Evans a pattern was set up for the statistics to be sent in from every diocese. The records thus compiled remain store-houses of information of permanent value, and the only abiding fruit of that prolonged, most costly and fruitless Commission.

CHAPTER XII

THE INVESTITURE

THE Investiture of the Prince of Wales on July 13th, 1911, in Carnarvon Castle, was a ceremony unique in beauty and pathos, and fruitful in revealing and quickening the fellowship that deep down underlies all our divisions.

Mr. Balfour thus spoke of it: "Never, I suppose, was there a ceremony more splendid in its surroundings, more touching in its detail, than the ceremony we witnessed yesterday. None of us who witnessed it can forget it, and I can only say that what I have seen will remain imprinted upon my memory as the most remarkable, the most interesting, and the most moving of all the great historic ceremonials which it has ever been my good fortune to witness." Mr. Asquith spoke with equal enthusiasm: "I was present at what lives in my memory as by far the most striking, picturesque, and moving of all the functions and festivities which this summer were associated with the coronation of the King. No one who had the privilege of witnessing that historic and memorable scene can fail to have been touched and moved, as perhaps never before by any similar spectacle, when feeling, as we must have felt, that we were in the presence of the

living witness of an undying nationality." This note of admiration and significance was heard throughout the Empire.

The simple story of how the Investiture in 1911 took its origin and its shape may be worthy of record. I was commanded to preach at Windsor Castle in March, 1893. On the Saturday evening I was presented to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, who graciously said, "I am very pleased to see you; I well remember you in Wales." This was a reference to the Royal visit to North Wales in 1889. Several questions were asked about Wales and the Welsh Church, and I formed the impression that the Welsh Church Suspensory Bill, then before Parliament, had aroused sympathy for the Church in Wales. Her Majesty referred with pleasure to her visit to North Wales, and when I blundered in giving the relationship of a member of the house of Wynnstay, she quickly corrected me. I humbly covered my ignorance by confessing that "your Majesty knows my diocese better than I do myself."

The Empress Frederick of Germany, who was then staying in the Castle, spoke to me with keen interest and freedom about the Irish and Welsh questions, both at that time absorbing public interest. I already knew that Her Majesty was sympathetic to our little Principality. She well knew that Welsh poetry and Welsh music nestled in the Welsh mountains, and that the Welsh people had a charm and a loyalty all their own. The Welsh language seemed to be a subject of special interest.

Her Majesty referred to a conversation with

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, CARNARVON, 1911.

Lord Acton about the Prince of Wales's motto: "The story about the blind King of Bohemia is a mere fable. 'Ich dien' is not German, and might well be the Welsh 'eich dyn' (your man)." Passing from this linguistic puzzle she exclaimed with emphasis: "The most dramatic incident in the history of the Welsh people was the presentation to the people of the first Prince of Wales. Why is not more made of the ceremony of the Investiture of the Prince of Wales?"

From the first formal Investiture in 1301 down to 1610 there had been long gaps in the observance of the ceremony. Why not, indeed, revive the ceremony and burnish it with the glories and longings of a reawakening nation? A fascinating idea! The possibilities latent in that idea as I thought upon it slowly emerged and touched the imagination. The whole conception was novel—each Prince of Wales took his place and rank, as far as Wales knew, by an automatic formality.

Tradition—in Wales powerful and perennial—kept the people familiar with the story of the birth and the presentation and the actual investiture of the first Prince of Wales, and to a race born with a keen sense of humour the one joke recorded of that sombre king, that he was giving the Principality "a governor whom they pleaded for, born in Wales, who could not speak a word of English," did much to hand on and to hand down—be it part fact, part fable—the whole story of the advent of the first Prince of Wales. Historically, the title Prince of Wales was an outward and audible sign that Wales was a united national

entity and not a congeries of petty princedoms always at war with one another.

The year 1910 opened upon a bitterly divided Wales. Politics were at a white heat, but there were foreshadowings of better things. Behind all these divisions the idea of nationality had gained in power and in clearness of conception. No longer could it be said to rest upon a unity of antipathies. The mean antipathies and the old hatreds, more tribal than human, must cease, unless Wales was for ever to remain divided, impotent, and ridiculous. The dawn of a better spirit was discerned first in the field of education, the pride and the crown of Welsh nationality. A campaign to bring concord into the schools, waylaid by the one-eyed men, failed in its immediate purpose, but it helped to break down old "walls of partition" and to clear a broad way for the coming of a new spirit of fellowship and co-operation. The death of King Edward made a pause. The contentions of the day seemed for the while mitigated. The thoughts of the populace, diverted from politics, were centred upon the coming Coronation. I had noted the change of feeling in Wales, and wondering with an almost feverish anxiety how best to foster the growing spirit of loyalty and good feeling, I called to mind the words of the Empress Frederick.

Here was the occasion for something to unite and inspire the Welsh nation. Fifteen years before, the bare idea had been scorned and scouted. But other times, other leaders. The dominant figure in the Government was Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I sought

an interview. It seemed a wild venture. I had never asked of him a personal favour. But I knew his character well and could trust him. He has the gift of chivalry—not exclusively a Celtic gift—and in victory is a generous opponent. Above all else for my purpose, he has imagination, which the slow-witted interpret as want of principle. The interview brought instant approval and action. Before all else, some one must lay the idea of a public Investiture (without details) before His Majesty the King, and I was to see how best this could be done. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with his unfailing kindness and wisdom, laid the matter before the King, and the project was not unfavourably received. This was the first and obviously the vital consent to be sought, and the assurance thus given was made doubly sure by the letter which follows :

"Balmoral Castle,
"Sept. 8th, 1910.

"My dear Bishop,

"Thanks for document. I have just shown it to the King, the Queen, and the young Prince. They are delighted. The Queen and the Prince are specially gratified. The idea has caught on, and they are all full of it.

"I suggested the Queen should repeat the words 'eich dyn' in presenting the young Prince. She quite approves of the proposal.

"It is a simple, homely and kindly household in spite of all the pomp that surrounds royalty, and its influence will be distinctly healthy.

"I conveyed your kind invitation to the Master of Elibank. He is delighted. We shall both travel as far as Chester late on Wednesday night. We cannot get away before 8 from town.

"Trusting you have both enjoyed your seaside holiday.

"Yours sincerely,
"D. Lloyd George.

"The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph."

Immediately a "Prince of Wales Investiture Committee" met in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's room in the House of Commons. Among those present were Lords Tredegar, Plymouth, Cawdor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir Alfred Thomas. The Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., and Mr. W. F. Roch, M.P., representing both Welsh parties, acted at that meeting as secretaries. Lord Tredegar consented to take the chair. This generation may know that Lord Tredegar is head of the oldest of the great families in Wales; but they may not know that the late Viscount Tredegar was a true chieftain who commanded—as no other man in the Principality did—the affection and the allegiance of his countrymen. They knew that he neither courted nor despised popularity. Under his guidance this first meeting promised harmony and enthusiasm.

The arrangements for the Investiture were beset with many novel problems, and it was clear that the committee to solve these problems must be representative of all classes in Wales. With that end in view the committee was enlarged and well and wisely balanced. Lord Stamfordham attended this committee, and while apparently never interfering or even intervening kept the discussions clear of the rocks. Mr. Richard

Macaulay Thomas, C.B., was appointed secretary to the committee, and the allocation of seats and countless other important points of arrangement were carried out by him with patience and success. Sir Schomberg McDonnell, Secretary of the Office of Works, in consultation with the appropriate authorities, was ultimately responsible for carrying out the whole Investiture programme. They who remember that brilliant and quicksighted man need not be told how well his work was done.

He deftly allowed the committee to settle purely Welsh questions. Of these the first was decided without any controversy—the Investiture was to take place not in London but in Wales. "Where in Wales" was not so easily settled. Cardiff has many of the features that mark a capital city, and at the first blush it seemed that Cardiff must be the scene of the great ceremony. But "that dramatic incident" still lived and could only be repeated within the walls of the castle King Edward built at Carnarvon, and for Carnarvon every vote was cast. Another departure from precedent changed the character of the Investiture. As in Westminster Abbey, so in Carnarvon, there must be something beyond and above gorgeous ceremonial and oaths of fealty to an earthly monarch. It was innately becoming that the real heart of the Investiture, as of the Coronation, should be the religious service. The Investiture in its deeper meaning established and reiterated a blood relationship between the two peoples, and it was only right that the whole Christian people of Wales should have their place and share in that religious service.

Thus it came to pass that in this united service a true, albeit an undesigned, note of concord was struck. That uplifting note was taken up by the choir, formed from all Wales. Yet another innovation. The Welsh language had its rightful place, and in the ordered ceremonial Welsh and English appeared in friendly and parallel columns. All these departures from precedent were adopted, not without careful discussion but without controversy. There still remained the details of the ceremonial itself to be followed or fashioned anew. For all concerned this proved an interesting and illuminating study.

The composition of "the Ceremonial to be observed at the Investiture" was not the simple task of taking out from a muniment room a copy of the last Ceremonial used and then publishing it *mutatis mutandis*. For the "last Ceremonial" it was necessary to search and research. "The appropriate authorities" had neither time nor thought to spare from their work for the Coronation, and were unable, as a matter of fact, to give any useful hints or guidance.

It was a fortunate accident that I had in the British Museum and the Record Office obtained transcripts of all the early precedents relating to the Investiture. The earliest detailed and available record of the ceremony of Investiture is "of a grant of the Principality of Wales, dated 12 May 1343," and the reference is "Charter Roll. 17 Edward iii. membrane 27." The grant begins thus: "The King to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, etc. Greeting. From the serenity of the royal preeminence—even as

rays from the sun—come forth lower princedoms so that the integrity of the royal brightness producing light from light feels not the loss (*detrimenta*) of light by the distribution of light."

After this quaint opening the document runs on as follows: "So with the counsel and consent of the prelates, earls, barons and commonalties of our Kingdom of England in our general Parliament convoked at Westminster on Monday in the quinzain (*i.e.* fortnight) of Easter last past, we made and created the same Edward (our dearest first born) Prince of Wales and gave and granted and by our Charter confirmed to him the said principality and invested him with the said principality that setting forth he may preside there and presiding he may direct and defend the said parts. 'By a chaplet (*per sertum*) on his head and a golden ring on his finger and a silver rod, we have invested him according to custom and to have and to hold of us for himself and his heirs Kings of England for ever with all our lordships and lands in North Wales, West Wales, and South Wales.'" Then follows a recital of all the lordships, lands, castles, revenues, and the obligation to render such service "as our father lately King of England rendered to our grandfather."

Among the witnesses to this grant were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bohun Earl of Northampton, Thomas Wake of Lidel. It is on record that the Prince was formally invested with the symbols of his rank—the golden chaplet or "*talaith*," the gold ring, and the silver wand. These were the ancient insignia of Welsh rulers,

and the ceremony was intended to emphasise the fact that the new Prince stood in direct succession to Owain Gwynedd and the two Llywelyns.

Here in this grant is the first record of the ceremony of an Investiture, and this was the precedent which was followed in essentials. When Henry of Monmouth was created in October, 1399, Prince of Wales by his father, he was invested with the Principality of Wales in the same words and with the same insignia as used by Edward III. in the Investiture in 1343 of his son—the same with one exception. The rod or verge in 1399 was of gold, in 1343 it was of silver (*virgam argenteam*).

The chaplet, the ring and the verge remained as insignia in all Investitures. The two sons of James I. were "invested with the Principality"—Henry Frederick on June 4th, 1610, and Charles on November 3rd, 1616. The Investiture of Prince Henry retained the distinctive features and phrases of that of the Black Prince in 1343, with many additions and greater elaboration.

In January, 1910, Sir Schomberg McDonnell wrote me an urgent letter for the record of these two Investitures, and they, especially the first, supplied the needed model and precedents. The "pomp and circumstance" surrounding the ceremony of 1610 were impressive. "The place provided for this solemnity was the Great White-Hall or Court of Requests in the Palace of Westminster, and for that day was appointed the Parliament House for both Houses. At the end of this great white chamber was spread a sumptuous cloth of

state for the King. On each side of the Hall, rising in tiers against the walls, were set seats for distinguished personages, and ambassadors, and for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Upon forms and woolsacks the Lords of Parliament and the Judges did sit in their robes. Below the strong bar of timber that was set up athwart the middle of the Hall was placed the Speaker's Chair and seats on each side fit and convenient to receive the whole House of Commons. The King entered, wearing his crown and Royal robes. Lords Cranborne and Burghley bore his train, and around him were assembled the great officers of the Court and State, and "*seniores primi*" on both sides of the Higher House above the bar were placed five-and-twenty Knights of the Bath whom His Majesty had made in honour of his son. They were apparelled in purple satin, lined with white taffata.

"After a good space of time the Prince entered at the lower end of the great Hall. He came bareheaded in his surcote of purple velvet. Garter King of Arms bore the Letters Patent, the Earl of Sussex the Prince's robes of purple velvet, the Earl of Cumberland the sword, the Earl of Rutland the ring, the Earl of Derby the rod (the verge of gold), the Earl of Shrewsbury the cap and coronet. Supported by the Earl of Nottingham and Northampton the Prince thus entering the Parliament Chamber, where the King was set in his throne and the whole State of the Realm in order, made low obeysance to His Majesty three times, and after the third time, when he was come near to the King, he kneeled down on a rich cushion while the Earl of Salisbury read his Letters Patent."

Then His Majesty (with two assistants) at the reading of the words of Investiture put the robes upon him, and girded on the sword, invested him with the rod and ring and set the cap and coronet on his head, with which ceremony the creation being accomplished, he arose and was brought and seated in his place of Parliament on the left hand of His Majesty. "When the King, being advertised that he should kiss him, rising first reached his hand to be kissed and afterwards kissed him. Then the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament; and the trumpets sounded, His Majesty with the whole Court of Parliament rose up and descended into the Hall, passing forth towards the Bridge in solemn and stately manner." It will be seen the Ceremonial of 1911 represented a natural and consistent evolution. The coronet, the gold ring, the verge appear in the Investitures in May 1343, October 1399, June 1610, July 1911. The sword was added in 1399, and the verge was golden not silver. In 1610 and 1911 "the putting the robes upon him" was added.

There are three slightly different records of "the putting on the robes" in 1610:

(1) "His Majesty at the reading of the words of Investiture put the robes upon him."

(2) "His Majesty (with two assistants) put the robes upon him."

(3) "The robes were put on by the Lord who carried them."

In 1911 "His Majesty invests His Royal Highness with the mantle," and "with the sword by hanging it round his neck" not by "girding it on."

These small differences only emphasise the substantial identity of the two ceremonies. Long and intense had been the toil and thought given to make ready for the great day. Carnarvon Castle was ideally the one spot for the scene of all that was to happen—ideally "yes"; but when it came to practical realities, despairing difficulties, never thought of before, revealed themselves. Mr. F. (now Sir F.) Baines and his staff in a few weeks wrought wonders. The Outer Bailey, cleared and levelled, formed the arena where the ceremony was to be enacted. All around the arena seats rising in tiers were ready by the day for 12,000 people who could enjoy comfort and visibility. On every tower and curtain-wall, space and safety were assured for onlookers who chose these vantage-points. The platform at the end of the Outer Bailey was well chosen for the choir. Everything that skill and foresight could plan and provide was finished; but one cause of disastrous possibilities remained to the last moment to cast a shadow of anxiety. The roofless Castle could bear no awning or cover. Rain would ruin the day.

July 13th, 1911, the sunniest and hottest day in the year, brought the last thing needed. At nine o'clock ticket-holders began to pour in, and at noon nearly all the 12,000 had found and taken their seats. Luncheon baskets and the choir helped to speed the lagging hours. "*The Ceremonial to be observed*," in an admirable booklet given to each ticket-holder, awakened curiosity. They could identify the Royal Dais in the centre of the Arena. In the Dais were set the Thrones

prepared for their Majesties. When the time came, the place and names of all the notables taking part were plainly marked out. The booklet kept distinct and in clear sequence the three parts of the ceremonial—the investiture, the religious service, the presentation by His Majesty of the Prince to the people. In the study of these details the waiting hours were whiled away.

At 1.10 the Prince, in his own procession, arrived and entered the Chamberlain's Tower, which was guarded by Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn and Sir Marteine Lloyd, bearing the Standards of the Welsh Dragon and the White Wolfhound, and the Prince was there to await the arrival of their Majesties. The buzz of conversation slowly ceased, and a silence, solemn in its spontaneity, fell upon the whole assembly. Soon there came the roar of the cheering thousands in the Square outside. Their Majesties, escorted by a Sovereign's escort of the Second Life Guards, had reached the Castle Square, where they received and acknowledged an Address from the Mayor and Corporation of Carnarvon. At the Water-Gate to the Eagle Tower their Majesties were received by the Constable of the Castle (the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P.), who presented the Key of the Castle to the King. The Royal Procession was then formed and their Majesties were conducted to the Dais, where they were received by the four Bishops of Wales and by the Presidents of the four Nonconformist Bodies. Present on the Dais were Mr. Asquith (the Prime Minister), the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, and other Ministers.

First in the trilogy came the Investiture, when

His Majesty commanded the Earl Marshal (the Duke of Norfolk) to direct Garter King of Arms (Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, K.C.V.O.) to summon the Prince of Wales to his presence. Whereupon Garter, accompanied by the Lords bearing the insignia—Lord Mostyn (the mantle), Earl of Powis (the sword), Marquis of Anglesey (the coronet), Lord Dynevor (the ring), Duke of Beaufort (the golden rod)—proceeded to His Royal Highness's Pavilion.

And now the moment had come when the Welsh nation beheld and understood the meaning of the greatest ceremony in their history. From the Lower Bailey to the highest battlements the people saw their Prince, bareheaded, clad in a purple velvet surcoat and white breeches and stockings, pass between the Lords bearing the Regalia, and, kneeling, make three obeisances to the King.

The Secretary for the Home Department (The Right Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill) read the Letters Patent as follows:

"George the Fifth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith—To all Archbishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Baronets, Knights, Justices, Provosts, Ministers and all other Our Faithful subjects, Greeting—

"Know Ye that We have made and created and by these Our Letters Patent Do make and Create" (here His Majesty invested His Royal Highness with the Mantle) "Our Most Dear Son, Edward, Albert, Christian, George, Andrew,

Patrick, David, Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland, Duke of Saxony and Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and to the same Our Most Dear Son Edward, Albert, Christian, George, Andrew, Patrick, David, Have given and granted And by this Our present Charter Do give grant and confirm the Name, Style, Title, Dignity and Honour of the same Principality and Earldom. And Him Our Said Most Dear Son Edward, Albert, Christian, George, Andrew, Patrick, David, as has been accustomed We do Ennoble and Invest with the said Principality and Earldom by Girding Him with a Sword" (here His Majesty invested His Royal Highness with the Sword by hanging it round his neck), "By putting a Coronet on His Head" (here His Majesty placed the coronet upon the Head of His Royal Highness), "And a Gold Ring on His Finger" (here His Majesty placed the Gold Ring upon the third finger of His Royal Highness's left hand), "And also by delivering a Gold Rod into His Hand" (here His Majesty placed in the right hand of His Royal Highness the Golden Verge), "That He may preside there and may direct and defend those parts To Hold to Him and His Heirs, Kings of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas for ever. Wherefore We will and strictly Command for Us, Our Heirs and Successors That Our said Most Dear Son Edward, Albert, Christian, George, Andrew, Patrick, David may have the

Name, Style, Title, Dignity and Honour of the Principality of Wales and Earldom of Chester aforesaid unto Him and His Heirs Kings of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas as is above mentioned.

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales then did Homage for the Principality of Wales.

"I, Edward Prince of Wales, do become your liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship and faith and truth I will bear unto you to live and die against all manner of folks."

An interlude prayed silence for Wales and for her Prince to speak. The Right Hon. Sir John Rhys, the great Celtic scholar, read the Address from the people of Wales to their Prince. Nothing flamboyant or sentimental marred the beauty or the strength of those words of welcome and remembrance that sprang from the heart of Wales. "We are bound to the throne of your forefathers by six centuries of a common past. The bowmen and the pikemen of Wales followed the Black Prince to Cressy and Henry of Monmouth to Agincourt. Her sons have stood side by side with Englishmen on many a stricken field, facing equal dangers with no unequal courage."

In simple and winning words, to which youth in its first comeliness added the charm of shyness and reserve, the Prince replied that "he was proud of his Tudor ancestry, of his title, and of his name. That day he could safely say that he was in the old land of his fathers (*hen wlad fy nhadau*)."

The Welsh "fy" is a difficult sound, and I remember when the Prince was going over the

Welsh phrases he said laughingly, "You must put that word in English letters or else I shall pronounce it as it is spelt in Welsh." His Royal Highness was wonderfully quick in pronouncing aright the Welsh words he used.

These addresses from Prince and people touched a personal note and were no unworthy prelude to the religious service. The opening hymn—"O God, our help in ages past"—was sung by choir and people. The Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor and the two Senior Nonconformist Ministers took the service. A Welsh hymn to a Welsh tune—both beloved by all Welshmen—was sung before the final Blessing. The effect was instant and wonderful. It would be easy to exaggerate the reverence of that simple service and the rapture and the real beauty of the singing, but it would not be easy to find faults in either. Then followed the last and the most dramatic incident of the day—albeit the most difficult to dramatise. Now not only those within the Castle walls but the waiting thousands massed outside could see the Presentation of the Prince. The King, taking the Prince by the hand, led him to Queen Elinor's Gate, where a great platform had been constructed in the battlements. Standing between his father and mother, the Prince was welcomed with a vast cheer that quickly passed into the Welsh National Anthem, "Land of my Fathers."

And now all was over, and the Royal procession moved to the Eagle Tower Gateway, and there their Majesties and the Prince of Wales took their departure.

The story of Prince Edward's birth in Queen

Elinor's Tower in Carnarvon Castle, of his Presentation to the people and of his creation as Prince of Wales in 1284 are repudiated by historians. It is true that he was born in Carnarvon, but not in the Castle we see to-day. The Castle and Queen Elinor's Tower were not then built. Prince Alfonso, the elder brother of Prince Edward, was alive and heir to the throne, but in feeble health, and died within the year. The Investiture of the Prince did not take place until February 7th, 1301, at the end of the Lincoln Parliament, and then not in the form of a ceremony, but by a grant or charter (calendared in the Public Record Office, see Appendix), which runs thus: "Know ye that we have given, conceded and by this charter we have confirmed to our dearly beloved son Edward all the territory of Wales which is in our hands on the day of the completion of this deed, except the castle and town of Montgomery which we assigned to our very dear Consort Margaret as her dower." This grant of the Principality is made to the King's son and to his heirs, Kings of England, in perpetuity. In that Charter the title Prince of Wales does not appear.

On the same date (February 7th, 1301) there is given in the Patent Rolls "A mandate"—under the King's hand—"to Philip Abhowel Keeper of the Castle of Buelt (Builth) to deliver it to Edward *the King's Son*," and in all the Patent Rolls between 1296 and March 1301 there are seventeen entries in which Prince Edward is always described as "the King's son" but never as "Prince of Wales." That title is given him for the first time in a "Mandate from the King to the county of Essex

to purvey wheat for the army assembling at Carlisle under Edward the King's son, Prince of Wales." The date of this mandate is March 1st, 1301. The Prince was not described in any official or extant document as "Prince of Wales" before March 1st, 1301.

Must the whole story, then, be treated as a pure invention of the sixteenth century, or can a reassembling and a review of all details and circumstances of the period from the birth to the investiture of Prince Edward (1284–1301) justify the conclusion that here we have a story which represents the result of a natural and wisely foreseen evolution, the essential features in which tradition has, after her own fashion, carried down the centuries to our delight and edification?

First let us consider Carnarvon and all that it means. Carnarvon, or Kaerarvon, the Fort-on-fon (The Fort over against Anglesey), the Segontium of the Romans, the scene of many legends, the burial-place of Constantine the Great, the home of Elen the British wife of the Emperor Maximus (the Macsen Wledig of Welsh romance), the residence and the rallying centre of the main strength of Prince Llewelyn—the place and all about it impressed King Edward. In 1283 he ordered it to be permanently occupied. His first aim was to make the place safe and strong by building the town walls and strengthening the quay. The building of his castle was commenced in 1285 and finished in 1289.

The old castle of the Welsh Princes was probably on Llanbeblig hill, near the site (recently laid bare) of the old Roman Fort, and this ancient

castle may well have been the King's first residence in Carnarvon and the birthplace of his son. He wisely built his own castle down by the Strait, which a fleet could blockade and cut off the food supplies that came by sea, especially from Anglesey. Much of the building material for the castle was brought by sea. The strength and the splendour of King Edward's Castle continued and exalted the regal idea that the last Welsh Prince of Wales embodied.

Carnarvon in 1284—perhaps in honour of the King's infant son—was made a free borough. The crowd of workmen and the vast sums of money for which the building of the castle was responsible helped to keep the people busy and peaceful for a space. But the King knew well that among the people whom he had conquered there were hidden embers easily fanned into a flame. The conscription of Welshmen for the war in Gascony kindled the revolt for which the Welsh were burning, and Madoc, the son of Llewelyn, headed in September, 1294, a rebellion that for a moment looked like winning. Carnarvon town and castle were taken and burned, and Puleston, the custodian, hanged. The King, after a midwinter failure, quelled the rebellion in the spring and caused the damage done to town and castle to be at once repaired under the direction of his brother Edmund. New buildings were added, and castle, quay, and fortifications strengthened. The revolt had in no degree weakened or changed the original purpose of the King. Carnarvon must remain a fort and centre of capital value and a fitting residence for the rulers of Wales.

The origin and the adoption of the title "Prince of Wales" bear witness to the same policy, and for this we must go back a few years. The Treaty of Montgomery was agreed upon in September, 1267, and on the 29th of that month Llewelyn as Prince of Wales did homage and swore fealty at Rhyd Chwima, the ford of Montgomery, to Henry III. The right to bear the title "Prince of Wales" by Llewelyn and his heirs was then conceded and confirmed by the English Crown. This concession was the high-water mark in the struggles of the Welsh nation, and—to quote Professor Lloyd, the distinguished historian of Wales—"from the coming of the Normans to the Peace of Montgomery, Wales has never been under the rule of a single prince." Llewelyn "for nine unchallenged years" held this power. The clamour of the Welsh nation for a ruler of their own and "the dramatic incident of the presentation of a prince born in Wales who could not speak a word of English" cannot be swept away as mere inventions.

The history of the title Prince of Wales illustrates the ruling idea in King Edward's treatment and government of Wales. Llewelyn was the first and the last Welsh Prince of Wales, and from his death in 1282 until March 1st, 1301, the title lived only in the hearts and the imagination of the Welsh people. This King Edward knew full well. It is curious, if not significant, that in the Charter that invests the King's son with all the territory in Wales which was in the King's hands the title Prince of Wales does not occur. This Charter, be it remembered, was the first Investiture. Not

until three weeks after this Investiture does "the Prince of Wales" appear in a Royal Mandate. The Somerset Herald (Mr. Courthope) is quoted as saying, "We have no account of any ceremony attendant upon the creation of Edward of Carnarvon to be Prince of Wales." The King discovered that "all our territory in Wales" was uncomfortably held by the Crown, and in the process of transferring it to his son he surreptitiously brings in the title which would help to reconcile the Welsh people to the transference. The whole treatment and policy of King Edward was dominated by the conviction that if Wales was to be held, it must be by continuing and recreating and not by extinguishing the national ideals. The accepted facts as they stand show that the King was resolute and statesmanlike in working out that one fixed idea. Wales must be won, not crushed.

Tradition fortifies her story. The King was at Rhuddlan when the tidings reached him of the birth of Prince Edward. The messenger who brought the news was well rewarded. His "pouches were stuffed with gold pieces. The King made him a Knight and gave him house and lands to support his Knighthood." The Bishop (Anian) of Bangor christened the baby Prince, and the King—as recorded in a MS. in the British Museum—bestowed upon the Bishop "lands and regalities in various parts of Anglesey and Carnarvon, and the two ferries over the Menai which yielded no small revenue to the Bishop." Upon his return from Rhuddlan to Carnarvon the King made Carnarvon a free

borough. The Welsh leaders and chieftains in Carnarvon must have welcomed "this concession of liberties and privileges" to themselves and to their famous capital. At such a moment in that signal year the King would speak acceptable words to the people. He knew that the longing of the nation was "for a ruler of their own, born in their own beloved land." The difficulty of union had baffled that longing, but Sisyphus-like their own struggles for unity had seemed sometimes near but always missed attainment. A whisper of hope would touch their hearts as nothing else could. Would this wise and far-seeing monarch miss the opportunity? Would he not say something about the infant born there in the old palace and capital of their own Prince Llewelyn? The Investiture in 1301 was a precise and minute State document, betraying carefully prepared and well-considered provisions, and was the realisation of a long-cherished idea and the climax of a great policy.

The bare log-book record of the seventeen years from the birth to the Investiture of Prince Edward has been clothed and warmed by the hand of tradition—no lying jade but the kindly handmaid of Truth. To the most ancient nation in this island their "Prince of Wales" is a title magnetic, nay magical, in its enthralling spell. It was good for Wales and for the Empire that the Investiture should no longer be a cold and clipped formality in some London palace, and good that it should be surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of 1610, and best of all that it should be in Wales, uplifted by the music and sanctified by the prayers

of the Welsh people. Soon after the Investiture the Revd. John Hughes, the Moderator of the Welsh Methodists, informed me that " the Council of the Free Churches of Wales " desired to present to the Prince " an Address congratulating him on his Investiture in Carnarvon Castle and the brave part he maintained therein, mentioning at the same time the importance of the occasion in the history of the Principality and the gratification of the Welsh people all over the world in the event."

Lord Stamfordham, before whom I immediately laid the project, replied that " His Majesty greatly appreciates the suggestion made by the Reverend John Hughes on behalf of the Free Churches of Wales that an Address should be presented to the Prince of Wales in commemoration of His Royal Highness's Investiture at Carnarvon Castle. His Majesty is further gratified in learning that the Bishop of Menevia has signified his readiness to be associated with the Address. In this combined act of the representatives of the different schools of religious thought in the Principality the King recognises with thankfulness a spirit of toleration and goodwill which His Majesty hopes may be regarded as a happy augury for the future." The Address—submitted and approved—was presented to His Royal Highness at Buckingham Palace by the representatives already indicated.

With this incident the narrative of the Investiture may close. For it was the first-fruits of that great assembly and the first sign that the night of bitterness was ending and the dawn of a better day at hand.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WELSH CHURCH ACT AND THE WAR

A COMPLETE and detailed record of the Welsh Disestablishment movement throughout the whole period of the war (1914–1918) may prove instructive and wholesome. On July 30th, 1914, when war was in the balance, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons declared it to be of vital importance in the interests of the whole world that this country should present a united front and speak and act with the authority of an undivided nation. "In the meantime," he solemnly announced, "the business we shall take will not be controversial." Be it remembered that the Irish and Welsh Bills were the most controversial Bills then before Parliament. He went on to say "no party in any quarter of the House should gain advantage or should suffer prejudice from the suspension for the moment of our domestic controversies." Mr. Bonar Law responded to this appeal and "hoped that the renewal of controversy would be avoided, and he was certain that if they were again reduced to controversies it would be a disgrace to the House." War was declared on August 4th, and when the House met on August 6th, Mr. Bonar Law pledged the Unionist party to co-operation. These pro-

mises on August 31st were repeated by both sides. The truce—" truce " so called and so regarded—was accepted as sealed and ratified.

On September 14th, Mr. Bonar Law announced to the Unionist party that " it was only on Friday that I received the communication from the Prime Minister—and I received it with absolute amazement—that the Government intend to place both Bills—the Home Rule Bill and the Welsh Bill—upon the Statute Book as they stand. I had every reason, as I thought, to know that the course which the Prime Minister is now taking could not honourably be taken by him." On the next day (September 15th) Mr. Asquith moved for leave to introduce a Suspensory Bill for the Irish and Welsh Acts. The Act, which appears in the statute book as " An Act to Suspend the Operation of the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, and the Welsh Church Act, 1914," runs as follows :

1.—(i) Notwithstanding anything in the Government of Ireland Act, 1914, no steps shall be taken to put that Act into operation, and notwithstanding anything in the Welsh Church Act, 1914, the date of disestablishment under that Act shall be postponed, until the expiration of twelve months from the date of the passing of those Acts respectively, or, if at the expiration of those twelve months the present war has not ended, until such later date (not being later than the end of the present war) as may be fixed by His Majesty by Order in Council ; and the provisions of those Acts shall have effect accordingly.

2.—In this Act, the Government of Ireland

Act, 1914, means any Act which becomes law during the present session, and which may be cited by that short title; and the Welsh Church Act, 1914, means any Act which becomes law during the present session and which may be cited by that short title.

The title of the Act states as clearly as language can state that the Act suspends the *operation* of both the Irish and the Welsh Acts. The first clause repeats the suspension of the operation of the Irish Act, and without repeating implies the same thing for the Welsh Act. By whose craft or subtilty the repetition was omitted for the Welsh Act need not be asked. But I never met at the time any parliamentarian who did not regard this clause as interpreted by the Government in its application to the Welsh Act as a deliberate and disgraceful subterfuge. Mr. Asquith unblushingly stated that "it might appear just and equitable that the operation of the disendowment provisions of the Welsh Act should be postponed; when you come to examine the matter you cannot disentangle the provisions in regard to disendowment from those in regard to disestablishment." Mr. Bonar Law (being by Mr. Balfour's suggestion the only speaker for the Unionist party) in reply "charged ministers with breaking pledges as solemn as were ever given to any Parliament by any Government." At the close of his speech Mr. Bonar Law left the House, and was followed by the whole of the Unionist party. The Archbishop of Canterbury, on the same day, in the House of Lords, said that "the Welsh Church Act would

at any time have inflicted great harm on the Church. It would now be absolutely devastating in its consequences"; while Lord St. Aldwyn said in the House of Lords, that "the action of the Government would be held to be a cruel wrong, wantonly and unnecessarily inflicted upon the Church in Wales for years to come, and they would never forgive it."

Let me endeavour to make clear beyond all dispute what "putting the Act into operation" means. Two dates must be kept distinct, viz. the date of the passing of the Act, and the date of its taking effect; in other words, the date of the passing and the date of disestablishment. The time which intervenes between the date of the passing and the date of disestablishment is given for making necessary preparations for the Act to come into full force. For example, the Irish Church Act was passed on July 26th, 1869, and the date of disestablishment was January 1st, 1871, that is to say, Parliament allowed one year and five months for "putting into operation" all the necessary preparations and arrangements for the Act to take effect. In the case of the Welsh Church Act, as in that of the Irish Church Act, it was provided that certain steps should be taken immediately after the passing of the Act; for example, the apportionment of property by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Bounty Office, and the ascertaining all details about the property "as soon as may be after the passing of the Act and before the date of disestablishment." Welsh Church Commissioners, to whom everything was to be transferred, were appointed, and

they had to deal with border parishes, existing interests, and a number of other complicated questions. The three Commissioners, the secretary, and the staff were appointed the moment the Act was passed in September, 1914, and they at once put the Act into operation and drew their pay.

Be it observed that every step that would have been taken to put the Act into operation if there had been no war was taken under the Suspensory Act when there was war. Every incumbent on the day the Order in Council was published, received a form of inquiry from the Commissioners, with 100 questions and 7 schedules. The clergy were compelled to spend hours in answering the inquiries of the Commissioners. Churchmen understood the gravity of what the Government were doing, and they set to work at once to constitute a Representative Body, and in January, 1915, various committees were elected and began upon the work. There were no precedents to guide them, many of the faithful laity were in the trenches; still the work went on. The committee meetings were numerous, and the task in those stricken days proved a strain not easy to bear. Perhaps I may illustrate this from my own experience. I was summoned to London to an all-important committee meeting, and I struggled painfully through it, for on that morning the news had reached me that my youngest son had been killed in action. Churchmen knew that there would be no sympathy or mercy from the Government, and that no time must be lost and no trust could be placed in Mr. Asquith, the

Prime Minister, who had broken his solemn pledge once.

What a time of contrasts! Here in Dean's Yard, day after day Churchmen summoned from Wales were toiling at the dark problem of building up an organisation to take the place of one which represented the harvested wisdom and experience of fifteen centuries. Within a stone's throw the Commissioners appointed by the Government were earmarking for spoliation the property of the Church, and were dismantling her whole structure and secularising her churchyards. Almost within earshot of our shores the greatest war in the world was being waged, and the first and foremost in the ranks of that war who came from Wales were the sons of Churchmen. The Commissioners and a competent staff—worthy, honourable, courteous gentlemen—simply obeyed orders. Accommodation for the smallest offices was hard to come by in London that autumn (1914). The Government were peremptory. "Make room for the Welsh Church Act" was the order, and at once the Commissioners were established in suitable offices in spite of all war demands, and without an hour's delay they began their work. They drew up and circulated multitudinous inquiries. No disaster by sea or land checked or postponed their operations. War workers were commandeered from all quarters, classes, and occupations, but nothing must disturb or delay the operation of the Welsh Church Act. That must come before the agonising calls of the war.

The opening weeks of 1915 were darkened by the lengthening roll of deaths and disasters, and

men's hearts failed them under the weight of torturing anxieties. It was indeed strange that among many of the Welsh Nonconformists the fortunes of the great war were overshadowed by those of the Welsh Church Act. Stranger still was the ill-concealed fact that the Welsh members were passionately eager to hasten the date of disestablishment. They could not hide their anxiety or their depression, yet the Act was in full operation, as full as if there had been no Mons, no sinking of the *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* (the biggest naval disaster since 1812), no throbbing fears for the empire and the fatherland. Could they not find comfort in the spectacle of the Welsh Church—silent and manacled! Her sons were thronging to the war, and more than 70 per cent. of the men from Wales who joined the colours before conscription, were Churchmen. What, then, could be the cause of the nervous fears that beset the Welsh Disestablishment party? Signs of resentment appeared in Wales as well as in England at the harshness and injustice meted out to the Church.

Early in January, 1915, Sir Henry Lunn, himself an ex-Nonconformist minister, presented to Mr. Asquith a memorial from the ministers and official laymen of the Free Churches of Great Britain, appealing for a more generous treatment of the Welsh Church. That memorial was signed by 717 ministers and 535 official laymen from the Free Churches of Great Britain. Indignation increased and made itself felt widely and profoundly. Mr. Bridgeman on February 2nd elicited the fact that the fate of the border parishes was

being taken by a ballot. Mr. McKenna was unable to tell the House how or by whom or on what register the votes were being taken, or why voting papers were sent to some people and not to others. Mr. Bridgeman pointed out that this border parish election was a breach of the political truce, and he appealed to the Government to stop actions of this kind. Mr. McKenna's reply made this incident one of prophetic significance. "Would," he asked, "Mr. Bridgeman and his friends pledge themselves not to repeal the Welsh Church Act?" A similar appeal for that pledge was made by the Government in the House of Lords. Appeals for this pledge were repeatedly made by the Government and the Welsh members. The motive for this appeal was nakedly stated by a Nonconformist minister. "There might be a general election within six months, and if the general election went against the Government, the Welsh Church Act would undoubtedly be repealed, and then the Welsh people would be worse off than they had ever been." There was much to confirm the accuracy of this forecast.

The Government were alarmed by proofs of the general dissatisfaction with the Welsh Church Act, and especially with the treatment of the Church by putting that Act into operation. Forthwith Mr. Asquith brought in a Welsh Church Postponement Bill, and speaking on the second reading of the Bill (March, 1915) said, "I am not in the least ashamed to confess it—that in view of the unforeseen and unforeseeable exigencies with which we are now confronted, something, I

will not say of generosity, but something of justice and equity ought to be and must be done to meet the special hardships to which the devoted adherents of the establishment in Wales are necessarily for the time being exposed." Then turning to the Welsh members,—" my honourable friends who are among my most faithful and loyal supporters, and whose confidence and affection I prize almost more than I can express,"—he appealed to them " as far as possible to reach points of possible agreement." Sir Herbert Roberts, Chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary party, said they, the Welsh members, had come to the conclusion that it was their duty to oppose the Bill.

Thereupon arose the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George. He pointed out that some of the most devoted Churchmen were serving abroad. " These men, who are the most powerful organisers the Church has got, whose counsels are essential to the Church, will probably not return—assuming that they are fortunate enough to get through the war—for at least six months after the war is over. Under these conditions I appeal to my countrymen not merely here but outside. I say if you will not give six months' respite to the people under these conditions, then you are not an honour to the race to which they and I belong. You will have no repeal if you behave in a big way, and not in a petty way, in these circumstances."

The Welsh members were unmoved. Mr. McKenna was summoned to attend their private meeting and threatening resolutions were passed.

The Welsh Whips appealed to the Irish nationalists and English Nonconformists for their support. Amendments and motions for rejection crowded the notice papers. One cynical amendment "that the Bill should be rejected because in her own interests the Church should be relieved of the odiums which would accrue from rising tithe and prices" was put down by four separate members of the Welsh party—to their own great discredit. The *Manchester Guardian*, while stating that after all the Postponement Bill was of no material importance and only gave the Church six months for preparation after the war, expressed the hope that the Welsh delegates at the coming Rhyl Liberal Conference "would not lose their heads and make Wales look small and foolish." But all hopes and warnings were of no avail. The temper and spirit which were shown by the influences that lay behind, and goaded if they did not inspire the Welsh members, can only be made clear by recalling the time and context when these things were said, these resolutions framed, and this policy of "no concession" ruthlessly pressed.

The spring of 1915, in Sir Edward Grey's words, "brought dark days for us all," and when alone one sometimes knew what it was to have to resist "the fear that kills, and the hope that is unwilling to be fed." The terrible defeats of the Russians when they were driven out of East Prussia depressed public opinion in Russia and reacted disastrously upon possible allies. Bulgaria, bribed by the Germans, was wavering, and Serbia obstinate and unmanageable. The horrors of trench-warfare became gradually known, and

France and England were unable to send looked-for help to Russia.

Early in March I saw a Battalion of the R.W.F.'s leave Wrexham for the front, a splendid body of young men of whom more than half never returned—among them was the heir of Hawarden. Sorrow was written on the faces of the crowds that watched them going. These were sobering moments. On March 9th, Mr. Lloyd George, "to the surprise of the nation," introduced his famous Bill "to mobilise our industrial resources," and he concluded his speech by saying, "instead of business as usual the nation wants victory as usual." On the same day the Government introduced the Welsh Church Postponement Bill. All this time of crisis the Welsh members and their Nonconformist backers were not merely opposing the Postponement Bill but were pressing the Government to let disestablishment take effect on September 18th, 1915. Their attitude was exemplified by the following incident. The annual conference of the National Federation of Free Church Councils took place in Manchester on March 10th. It had been arranged that "controversial subjects were to be excluded and no resolutions proposed." The subject down for consideration was, "The opportunities given by the war for Christian work in Wales."

Four papers were to be read on this inspiring subject. The President of the Conference was Sir J. Compton Rickett, M.P. The first speaker (a Welsh Nonconformist minister) at once began to discuss the Welsh Church Act. He feared that "after all we shall be thwarted from securing the

victory which we thought we had already secured." The conference was crowded by delegates from Wales. Some one rose to ask whether it was in order to discuss the Welsh Church Act. The President, amid loud cheers, said that it was, and the Methodist minister proceeded thus: "The fight for religious liberty in Wales is to go on again. We Nonconformists in Wales are ready to fight, and we ask you here as English Nonconformists to help us in the fight in the interests of the Kingdom of God." A Nonconformist minister (from Yorkshire but with a Welsh name) moved a resolution protesting against any modification of the Welsh Church Act. "The war has been entered upon by the Welsh nation for the right of little nations, and it was that 'ringing cry' that alone made us Nonconformists go to war at all." He then concluded with a threat which the President considered it his duty to deprecate. All the members of the Conference were to attend a service arranged for them by the Dean in Manchester Cathedral. The time for the service was near at hand, and the President reminded the meeting that they had to go to the cathedral directly. Thereupon a member called out, "Never mind the cathedral, this is more important, a thousand times." Had he said, "Never mind the war, this is more important, a thousand times," his interjection would probably have been received with equal applause. The subject of "Christian work in Wales," which the conference had assembled to discuss, was jettisoned, and the four papers unread.

The *Manchester Guardian* described the

meeting thus, "The Free Church Conference passed by a single step yesterday from the solemnities of the war to the fiercer excitements of the Welsh Church question. Perhaps the continuous strain of high thinking about national and international ethics had overtaxed the delegates, and they needed a change." The incident, isolated in its time and context, may be easily, indeed naturally, misunderstood. Superficially the whole proceeding looked mean and frenzied—more like a brawl at a funeral than a conclave for spiritual counsel. Its true significance, however, lay deeper. The Celt, whether Gael or Brython, harbours grievances, and they linger on, unhealed by time or even by redress. The bitter root in Welsh Nonconformity lay far back in the gross negligencies and petty tyrannies of a Church which had done much to forfeit the title of Mother. Her banished children, as the alienation grew and deepened, passed by the old home with a gnawing hatred in their hearts and the hidden fire did at times burst forth. The Welsh Methodists proclaimed themselves true children in the faith and mission of the Church which they too rashly left, and, though most akin to her, they proved the depth of their resentment by the intensity of their bitterness.

Only thus can the indelible meanness of the Welsh party, the blasphemies of the tithe riots, and the spasms of misrepresentation that propped up the Welsh Act, find an explanation or atonement for a race which is sympathetic beyond the ken and compass of Saxon or Teuton, sensitive to all "that exalts the vision of a people," true to the

poetry that adorns and the faith that sanctifies the land and the language they love. Happily that Manchester incident, rightly interpreted, represented a Wales that was dying if not dead—an old Wales of bitter antipathies soured by a gloomy Calvinism, narrow, self-righteous, and wearing an eternal Black Cap.

Young Wales, heedless if not ignorant of the old and begrimed watchwords, is moved by new ideals. The pride of nationhood thrills them with the ambition of harvesting to the uttermost the abundance and the richness of the gifts of their people. The fervour that kindled and the eloquence that fanned the revival flames are here as of old—more national and less sectarian. Nationalism is an ennobling ideal, albeit some of its prophets "are out of the way," and to them it is "as the hasty fruit before the summer." The Celt is of quick understanding and has a thirst for knowledge. Education is equipping to-day young Wales with a new table of values, with a juster sense of proportion, with a readier ear for the claims of history and continuity.

Evidence of this change is already at hand. I take a relevant example. In July, 1915, when Sir John Simon, spokesman for the old sectarian spirit, moved the withdrawal of the Postponement Bill, great was the transformation witnessed. No echo or whisper was heard of the Manchester threats. Sir John Simon, in moving the withdrawal of the Bill, announced that the Government by Order in Council proposed to postpone the date of disestablishment until the end of the war. In reality this was the slightest possible concession

that could be offered to the Church, but it was a very distinct admission that the Postponement Bill was just. Several of the Welsh members seemed to apologise for the withdrawal of the Bill and almost to ask for pardon in suppliant tones. The chairman of their party deprecated the very idea that their opposition had been based on financial grounds, and he hoped that from "the discipline of those difficult days a new spirit might come, and for a sign of these better things he looked to the horizon." Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ellis Griffith, sometimes a brilliant, always an unkindly, critic of the Church, protested most feelingly against the charge of "unpatriotism" of which no one had accused him.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Asquith made one frank admission, "I fully recognise without reserve or qualification the admirable spirit exhibited by those who represent the interests of the Welsh Church in this matter, who were entitled to insist upon the prosecution of this Bill while we are bound to give it all the support in our power to enable it to pass into law." This change of tone among the Welsh members was as rapid as it was surprising. Their conviction about the Church Act, as well as their dread of repeal, had not changed, but there were ominous tokens not only in England but in Wales that could not be missed or mistaken. Lord Selborne in May (1917) moved that the operation of the Welsh Church Act should be postponed for twelve months after the conclusion of peace. Lord Crewe received the motion with some hesitation, and—as the Archbishop of Canterbury said—his

argument amounted to this—that what would be right when the end of the war was in sight would not be right when the end of the war was not in sight. I made bold to add that the Welsh Church Act had not yet been before the people of this country, and if the British people wanted to repeal it they would do so. The fellowship of suffering and effort had gone far to drive out from the hearts of men the petty controversies and the bitternesses of the past, and I saw in Wales a new and genuine desire for co-operation. The debate concluded with a brief but most important declaration from Lord Crawford (Lord Privy Seal), that he was authorised to say that "a case for reconsideration had, in the opinion of the Government, been made out."

Lord Salisbury hailed this as a most important declaration, while Lord Beauchamp, concluding the debate, said it had been marked by a very real desire to come to some agreement. In June Lord Strachie, in a meticulous speech, raised the question of "authorisation," to which Lord Curzon replied at length and quoted what Mr. Bonar Law had said in the House of Commons, that a case for reconsideration was shown by the fact that the Liberal Government which itself passed the Welsh Church Act did introduce and intended to carry a measure giving suspension at the end of the war.

It was clear that the general election would take place in 1918. "Reconsideration" had taken the place of "postponement." In October, 1918, I called upon the Prime Minister (he had asked me in July to do so). He was engaged at the

moment, as Mr. Sutherland, his Secretary (who reminded me in manners if not in appearance so much of Mr. J. Sandars, Secretary to Mr. Balfour), informed me. I then called on Mr. Bonar Law and told him that there was naturally anxiety in Wales, and Churchmen wanted to know where they were. He had spoken to the Prime Minister, who was ready to take the matter into consideration. I replied that my own position was not to ask for repeal but for reconsideration. "What exactly do you want?" Mr. Bonar Law asked. I replied in detail as to the question of finance. Put briefly, I asked for a sum "that will just keep us afloat." He replied, "That is very little to ask, and I think the Prime Minister will give it. Naturally he does not want to say anything which will forfeit at the general election the support of many of his followers." Then he went on to say: "We do not know when the general election will come. The real difficulty is that the desire of the Prime Minister to help and the demands of Lord Robert Cecil and his friends are not quite reconcilable. We want to go to the country as the Coalition Government, and pledges too definite and specific would in some constituencies cause trouble." I remarked that "The Church question rather cuts across your path?" He replied, "Yes, precisely." Personally, I said that I should be satisfied with a declaration before the election from the Prime Minister that, owing to the unexpected prolongation of the war, grievances and hardships contrary, I believed, to the spirit and motive of those who were mainly responsible for the Act, had arisen, and consistently with that spirit a measure of recon-

sideration must be submitted at once to the new Parliament. Mr. Bonar Law replied that he believed the Prime Minister would do that, but that Lord Robert Cecil and his friends would ask for more than this. "Would you," he asked me, "if the Prime Minister made such a general declaration, and you were given to understand that the terms you name would be given, be prepared to acquiesce in and defend such a general declaration by the Prime Minister?" I agreed. Mr. Bonar Law said, "I will see the Prime Minister, and he will arrange for an interview." On November 6th Mr. Bonar Law sent for me that afternoon, and added that if I desired to bring the Bishop of St. Davids with me he would be happy to see him.

When we both arrived, Mr. Bonar Law read to us the declaration which the Prime Minister was prepared to make about the Welsh Church in the letter of general policy which he was going to write to Mr. Bonar Law, and he handed me the following: "Finally there is the question of Welsh Disestablishment. I am certain that nobody wishes to reopen religious controversy at this time. The Welsh Church Act is on the statute book, and I do not think that there is any desire, even on the part of the Welsh Church itself, that the Act should be repealed. But I recognise that the long continuance of the war has created financial problems which must be taken into account. I cannot make any definite proposals at the present moment, but I do not believe that once questions of principle no longer arise, it will be found impossible to arrive at a solution of these financial difficulties."

I was satisfied with the declaration, and said so. The Bishop and others had their doubts about abandoning repeal, and they desired specific pledges for amending certain clauses in the Act. The Prime Minister's letter was published on November 19th, and Lord Robert Cecil resigned two days after. The election was fixed for December 14th, and the election addresses of the Liberal candidates treated the Welsh Church Act with such delicate reserve that they had evidently discovered its unpopularity among the electors.

In the new Parliament the Coalition numbered 485, and of that number 388 were members of the Unionist party. Of the Asquithian Liberals 26 were elected, and the Irish Nationalists were nearly wiped out by the Sinn Feiners. It was noticeable that Mr. Asquith was defeated in the county which he had for many years represented, while in Monmouthshire Mr. McKenna, pilot of the Welsh Act, announced in his effort to conciliate Church opinion, on December 4th, that "it would be open to the new Parliament to repeal or vary the Welsh Church Act." This did not save him; he was at the bottom of the poll. In Anglesey Mr. Ellis Griffith was replaced by General Owen Thomas, who was opposed to the Welsh Church Act. Upon these results I offer no comment and suggest no interpretation, but one fact is a significant defence for the efforts of Churchmen. Only on two occasions can it be fairly said that Welsh Disestablishment had been more or less directly put before the country as a main issue for the electors to decide. The elections of 1895 and 1918 gave no evidence of unqualified approval of Welsh

Disestablishment and Disendowment even in Wales.

The first time the Welsh Church question came before the electors was in 1868, and the last time at the general election in 1918. The electoral record for those fifty years is a simple, straightforward story. Mr. Henry Richard, in his election speeches at Merthyr, made Welsh Disestablishment a live issue for Merthyr and for the rest of Wales. He greatly rejoiced that "instead of there being 17 indifferent Liberals who on Nonconformist questions were generally absent from the House, there were now (1868) 23 adherents of a thoroughly Liberal policy—including for the first time three Dissenters." In the Parliament of 1892 the first Welsh Disestablishment Bill was introduced by the Government, and read a second time on April 1st, 1895—ayes 304, noes 260, and in the majority were 62 Irish Nationalist members. The last vote in Parliament on the Welsh Church Act was taken in April, 1914—ayes 328, no's 251, and in the majority the Irish National vote was 77. Crucial amendments (*e.g.* on tithe, glebes, curates) were carried by the aid of the Irish vote. Mr. T. P. O'Connor (December, 1913) said: "If it had not been for the steady adhesion and the splendid discipline of the Irish members the Welsh Church Bill would not have passed through the House of Commons." There can be no doubt or controversy about the fact that without the votes of the Irish members, representing what is now the Free State in Ireland, there would not to-day be a Welsh Church Act on the statute book. Coalitions, like adversity, acquaint a man with

strange fellowships—few, perhaps, stranger than that of the Welsh Calvinist and the Irish Papist.

It must in all fairness be recognised that there was an element of identity in the purpose of each —the one burning to sever the Church, the other his country from England. There are some who in face of these facts held it to have been an anomaly that a measure of such far-reaching importance should have been passed without the distinct and unquestioned approval of Great Britain, and by the aid of Irish Nationalists for whom the Welsh Church Act could have no concern or interest. These moral oddities only illustrate the fervour and the character, but do not touch the real strength and hearts, of those who brought to fruition the Welsh Church Act. The Methodists by their teaching, the Church by her abuses, the landlords by their selfishness, severally, but not jointly, were the forces and influences that inoculated Wales with a Radicalism that stealthily affected well-nigh the whole body politic.

The election of 1868 revealed the existence, and the Ballot Act of 1872 the power, of this foreign germ. The electoral record supplied the challenging argument which no facts could refute and no reasoning sensibly weaken. The argument was stated by Mr. Gladstone briefly, after listening in 1893 to Archbishop Benson's remonstrance about the Suspensory Bill: "The Welsh vote *is* a heavy vote, and they are right to try what they can do with it." Then Irish Nationalism, fresh from its disestablishment triumph, came in to add another complication to the position in Wales. The Welsh people, prehistoric owners of this

island, love intensely the land to which the invader drove them. When left to themselves their power as a nation was frittered away in internecine wars, and tempted others to step in and give them the unity they conspicuously failed to secure for themselves. Yet deep down in the thoughts and affections of all Welshmen was the spirit of nationality. There it lay, cradled in all hearts, like an infant sleeping but beautiful—more beautiful than the screaming prodigy of modern days. Paradox though it seems, the Welshman is a captive to the spell of the past, and beyond others conserves in practice and belief old traditions. In the white heat of a famous election a Methodist deacon—tenant like his forebears on a great estate—appeared on the radical platform with the minister of his chapel. None doubted his radicalism. One night his wife heard him talk in his sleep, "he was going to vote for the old family."

Given time, and time was the essence of the struggle, I was possessed by the stubborn conviction that the Mother Church still held a place in the Welshman's heart, and the events of the last thirty years have only confirmed that conviction.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VERDICT OF THE ELECTORATE

The fate of the Welsh Church Act and of the Welsh Church, so far as it was affected by that Act, would in all probability be finally settled in the first year of the new Parliament. The complexities of the situation were great, and to frame forecasts or to make decisions was hazardous and hard.

First of all, continual emphasis had to be laid upon the assured fact that any Amending Act must be passed before the session ended in August, and it seemed, and proved to be true, that the struggle to secure this would be a race against time. In the second place, the prospects of gaining attention for the Welsh problem were discouraging. The Government was absorbed in the solution of post-war problems which were of unexampled importance not only to the empire but to the world, and it was almost inconceivable that the leading men in the Government would have time or inclination to turn aside from such vast anxieties to discuss the fate of the Church in four dioceses in what was called "the highlands of England."

At home the industrial world was in a ferment, and the air thick with threats of strikes.

The miners demanded that coal, the greatest asset of Great Britain, should be nationalised, and other trade unions saw in the perplexities of the moment an opportunity for pressing upon the Government their own special programmes. Amid all these conflicting and alarming anxieties, Churchmen could hardly complain if the interest in the Church in Wales was languid. Among the symptoms of lack of enthusiasm or even interest was the absence from the King's speech of any allusion whatever to the Church in Wales. Indeed, the reference to the Church in Wales made by Convocation in its address to the King was so guarded and limited that even silence could not have been less illuminating.

The crowd of causes competing for a first place in the programme of the session was so great and so powerful that the most sanguine and stout-hearted Churchmen could only nourish a faint hope that the Welsh Church question by some happy chance might push its way through to the front. Indubitably there was no hope unless Churchmen themselves were united in what they asked from Parliament. Total repeal of the Act was a policy that few supported. Total repeal of the disendowment clauses was demanded by those who, like Lord Hugh Cecil, regarded alienation of the Church's endowments for secular purposes as "calamitous at any time but especially unseemly at the present time when the nation was thanking heaven for a great deliverance." Repeal of disendowment could only be put forward if the Church as a whole was resolute and unanimous in making this demand. The Bishop

of London, speaking with the high authority which has attached to his office, declared in Convocation "that they should not allow their brethren in Wales to go forth to irretrievable disaster. They had been promised some relief and would hold the Government to that promise." If "some relief" was the sum total of all that was to be asked for, total repeal was a childish and unreal proposal. The Representative Church Council (of England) met a fortnight later, and no reference was made to the Church in Wales or even to an appeal for "some relief."

In April 1919 the Church Parliamentary Committee presented a Memorial to the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law asking for "certain modifications of the Act." The first modification related to disendowment, "Your memorialists do not in the least wish to deprive those bodies in Wales to whom the endowments are assigned of the benefits that they anticipate. While your memorialists ask that the Welsh Church should be fully reimbursed for the loss of the endowments, they suggest that the cost should fall upon the National Exchequer." The second modification of the Act asked for by the memorialists related to the ownership and control of the churchyards in Wales. The third modification desired was that the relation of the Church in Wales to Canterbury "should be left to the 'ecclesiastical authorities' and that the Church in Wales should be organised distinctly from the English Church." The memorialists, while confining themselves to these three modifications of the Act, accepted but deplored disestablishment, but these modifications

granted, they volunteered to co-operate with the Government in carrying out the Act.

Translated into reality, the terms came to this. The Church was to be disestablished, her endowments were to be handed over to those who were waiting for them. The State was to re-endow the Church from the National Exchequer. The control of the churchyards was to be reconsidered. The Welsh Dioceses were to be organised distinctly from the English Church.

Great indeed would have been the servitude of such a position. The historic bond of establishment was to be severed and a new bond of establishment in the form of the payment to the Church from the National Exchequer was to take its place. Finally the Church in Wales, "the most venerable in this island," was to be organised "distinctly from the English Church." This Memorial was signed by twenty-seven members of the House of Commons, among them being Lord Robert and Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the Hon. Edward Wood. The memorialists—and this is important—stated that "in 1914 Mr. Bonar Law, speaking as the leader of the Unionist party, deeply pledged himself and his party to reverse the disendowment of the Church in Wales. Your memorialists are confident that this language will not be forgotten or laid aside to-day." Illustrations of the significance of this sentence will later on present themselves. The authors (unknown to me) of that Memorial and its signatories had been powerful defenders of the Church in Wales, and while gratitude forbids censure, it is becoming to give thanks

that such a counsel of inconceivable folly quickly came to naught. This only was patent. Repeal as a policy and disestablishment and disendowment as principles had gone by the board. All that was left was "sauve qui peut"—a policy that leaves no room for blaming those who in obedience to their leaders adopted it. We may now profitably leave these public pronouncements and follow in chronological order the negotiations which began in January and ended in August, 1919, between the Government and the Church in Wales. These were strictly private.

Early in January, 1919, I had an interview with Mr. Bonar Law, and at his request formulated the case for the Church in these words: "It is my considered opinion that if the Church in Wales is to carry on her work without bitterness and to maintain at a minimum her organisation she must be allowed to retain her ancient churchyards and her glebes, and to include for commutation vested interests that have lapsed during the war, and to receive £1,500,000 to cover in some measure the total loss of her ancient endowments."

Before the end of January, Mr. Bonar Law wrote that he had arranged with the Prime Minister, when he was next in London, to have a conversation with me on the whole subject, as that would be the best way to try to come to an arrangement.

On February 11th, after listening to the speeches at the opening of Parliament, I went to the Prime Minister's private room, where I received as usual a cordial welcome. Before

discussing business he gave me an unexpected proof of his friendship by suggesting for me a change of work, involving less anxiety if not less responsibility. After some further conversation we discussed the Welsh Church question, and he took me to Mr. Bonar Law's private room. The instant and uppermost consideration was the grave danger of an immediate general strike, beginning with colliers and then going on to railwaymen. It seemed as if the strike must come sooner or later, and better sooner than later. The conversation turned to a most interesting discussion between the two statesmen on the Peace Conference. "Wilson is only a phrase-maker, and he and Clemenceau are at logger-heads. The most interesting figure at the Conference was the Feisal." I ventured to interpose a story which came to me from Cairo. A young English officer had gained for his services the high approval of the Feisal, who decided to confer upon him an honour—"the Order of Chastity, second class"!

The interview ended with solid business, and I was to meet the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary in a few days. This took place on February 26th. They agreed that there must be reconsideration of the Welsh Church Act, that if they had to disestablish and disendow the Church in Wales, then they would do so on more generous terms than in 1914, and that they wished to make up to the Church in Wales for the hardships and losses caused by the prolongation of the war. In discussing procedure, they agreed that the matter had better be approached from the

financial position. The Prime Minister, while on his guard against the possible but erroneous criticism "you are going to leave the Church better off than it was before disendowment," was emphatic on the necessity of approaching the question from a position of generosity and redress. I pointed out the serious losses of the Church owing to lapsed interests, and emphasised the fact that the Church in Wales would no longer receive grants from the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Bounty Office, which, at the then rate of increase, would come to about £50,000 a year. It was mentioned incidentally that Lord Hugh Cecil was preparing a petition to the Government. The Prime Minister was strongly of opinion that this would do harm, because it would arouse the now slumbering sectarian spirit. The Prime Minister asked what the Church wanted. I assured him that I had not come there to drive a hard bargain, but to show him that if the Church was "to keep afloat, and if the clergy, whom high prices had left in a deplorable financial position, were to be helped, the Church would need at least £1,500,000."

The Home Secretary, who would be in charge of any Amending Bill, said he would need the help of an expert to master the financial facts. Mr. McKenna was suggested. The Prime Minister, however, objected. "I always said at the time that he treated the whole business like a liquidator." The Prime Minister said I must be available and attend the conference. Here I must explain, if not apologise, for the continual recurrence of the personal pronoun. It became

evident in these negotiations that a small deputation, however small, was not the best way of promoting the business. The Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law evidently did not appreciate speeches of a handsome length, and the Governing Body, through its committee, determined that I must carry on the negotiations alone, with full powers to act and decide. I do not want to talk about myself, but the uncertainties and the difficulties that had to be faced and settled in the next six months involved a weight of responsibility the consciousness of which is still a haunting memory.

On March 1st the Home Secretary, Sir Henry Primrose, Mr. Huws Davies, and Mr. Frank Morgan, met in conference. Important but highly technical points were discussed. The Home Secretary desired as exact a statement as was possible of the losses which the Church had suffered owing to the prolongation of the war. Mr. Frank Morgan and Mr. Huws Davies established very clearly that the loss of grants for the last five years, and the loss of vested interests owing to death, resignation, or removal during the war period, was very large. The Act had, of course, been drafted before the possibility of these losses had been contemplated, and there was therefore a certain ambiguity in the clauses that applied to vested interests, but Mr. Morgan's contention proved that the loss under these two headings alone, capitalised, represented more than £500,000. Sir Henry Primrose stated his position and that of his fellow-Commissioners to be the duty of administering the Act, not to take any

part in controversial matters. Incidentally it seemed that the Home Secretary held the view that the Unionist party in the House could not do much harm "because there were not enough of them who cared very much." In this business-like conference Mr. Frank Morgan helped to lay the foundations for a sound statement of the exact financial position.

During the next four weeks no progress was made, and on March 25th I had an interview with Mr. Bonar Law by his invitation. It was my duty and desire to plead the urgency of our case. The Governing Body of the Church in Wales met in three weeks, and anxiety was growing among them to know what the Government was going to do for the Welsh Church. Various plans for the future depended upon the answer of the Government. Mr. Bonar Law sympathised with the justice of my appeal, but nothing could at that moment be done, for the strike was not over, and the newspapers that day gave mistaken impressions. He added, "The colliers are by no means satisfied. Smillie has raised a Frankenstein which he cannot lay. They (*i.e.* the colliers) are coming to me this morning. I hope their attitude is bluff, but doubt it. You can tell your Governing Body that you have seen George and me, and that we have the matter (*i.e.* the Welsh Church Act) in hand. But nothing can be done until George comes back. As soon as the preliminaries of peace are signed, George can return and leave the rest to Balfour."

In answer to my inquiry, "Might we hope for

it to be done in May?" Mr. Bonar Law said, "Yes, I should say certainly. Our reconsideration must take the form of a Bill, and there will be no difficulty about including a clause to deal with your point about Convocation." This precise promise of a Bill was reassuring. But the strike cast a shadow over everything. The Government's offer on the Coal Commission Report of an increase of 2*s.* a day, a seven-hours day at once, and a six-hours day in 1921, a grant of £1,000,000 a year for miners' houses, and an effective vote for miners in the direction of mines, averted the coal strike, but the "strike spirit" was abroad, and its sporadic eruptions were a warning that a national crisis in the industrial world was fomenting. These home cares and the drafting of the Peace Treaty absorbed the thoughts, energies, and time of ministers. In the midst of these colossal problems the memorials and the protests of Church defenders came—if with a ring of impatience—to remind and to stimulate the public conscience. April passed and nothing was or could be done. May was marked by kindly intentions, and June was passed amid hope now despairing and despair now hoping.

The Treaty of Peace was signed on June 28th, and the Prime Minister was back home to receive a welcome unsurpassed for its depth and fervour. He was hailed as saviour of his country, and he had saved his country because "he had never despaired of it." But June was ended and not one step forward gained for the cause of the Welsh Church. "Something or somebody must stir." A letter, importunate if not aggressive,

fell naturally from my pen. It was read and re-read, the envelope closed and more than once opened and reclosed. But in spite of these fruitless, fretful months, I had learnt that our only hope lay in regarding and keeping in their due proportion the claims of the Welsh Church, and in stating them with moderation and accuracy. Mr. Bonar Law saw the letter and so quietly advised me not to send it. I gratefully followed his advice. He saw my anxiety—how great and well-founded it was. Amendment hung by the thinnest possible thread, and with his unfailing honesty he wrote me thus:

"11, Downing Street,
"4th July, 1919.

"MY DEAR BISHOP,—I thank you for your letter of yesterday and feel rather a difficulty in answering it. In any case I think the wording of it is too aggressive, but as regards the general question of such a letter at all the position seems to me this. I shall certainly do what I can to protect the interests of the Welsh Church, but I do not wish you or your friends to rely entirely upon me, because it is just possible that other considerations, when the time comes, may make me feel that I am not justified in breaking the Coalition even in order to secure what I consider fair for the Church. I can, therefore, only give you my personal opinion as to the wisdom of such a letter. It may be that the time will come when it will be useful to take this line, but for the present I do not think that it would help your cause.

"Yours sincerely,
"A. BONAR LAW."

That letter, simple and straightforward, gave me strength because it gave me confidence that I was dealing with a leader who would let me know exactly where he stood, and would not put me off with dark sayings. The Prime Minister I had known intimately, and never, even when controversy was at its highest, had he ever failed me or gone back on his word. Naturally Church defenders had put their trust in the Unionist party, and in an early stage of these negotiations I was startled by a prominent Unionist member who exclaimed, "The first thing we have got to do is to get rid of Bonar Law as leader." I held my peace and went on with the work, but more than one apt proverb suggested itself.

On July 14th I received this letter from the Prime Minister:

"My Dear Bishop,—I have been expecting to hear from the Home Secretary in regard to his recommendations, but so far I have been disappointed in that respect. I telephoned through to Mr. Bonar Law yesterday to ask him to stir up Mr. Shortt, and I hope to hear to-morrow morning. Until I get the result of his investigations I am afraid it would not answer any useful purpose to have a discussion. As soon as I hear I will telephone or wire through to St. Asaph.

"I am anxious to get this matter settled, for the longer it is delayed the more difficult it will be to put it through, and the Government are definitely pledged to deal with it before the Act comes into full operation.

"Ever sincerely,
"D. Lloyd George.

"The Rt. Revd.
"The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph."

Three days after this I received a letter from Mr. Lloyd George that he would be glad to see me in London on the following Wednesday, July 23rd. Parliament was to adjourn early in August, therefore there was little more than three weeks left for all the preliminaries of our Bill. It was a grim race against time. On the morning of July 23rd, I was asked to lunch with the Prime Minister, where I met, in addition to the Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, the Home Secretary, and Sir Alfred Watson, the Government Actuary. The Home Secretary passed around a preliminary memorandum on the financial details, and the first impression given was adverse. There were obvious flaws in it, but I did not think that was the right moment to criticise or to contradict, and I simply replied to the Prime Minister—when he asked my opinion—that there were different ways of looking at some of the figures and I desired time to examine them. As I left, the Prime Minister most kindly said that Sir Alfred Watson would prepare a full statement of the figures to be issued as a White Paper, and added, "Anything to which he puts his name the House of Commons will accept."

I went away puzzled, if not discouraged, and sought the counsel of friends. If the figures which Mr. Morgan had prepared, and I had laid before Mr. Bonar Law and the Prime Minister, were fallacious, then any immediate Amendment Bill was too much to hope for. That evening Mr. Morgan and I went again over the figures. So far he had never made a blunder of any sort. The next morning, July 24th, I saw Mr. Bonar

Law and laid before him the figures retested on the previous evening by Mr. Morgan. Our case was unshaken, and the accuracy of Mr. Morgan's figures was completely established. I was warned that Mr. Bonar Law would see me at any time, but there must be no other interviewer—a warning pointedly repeated. Sir Alfred Watson saw me at the Athenæum that morning. He was about to prepare a memorandum for the Government, and he saw Mr. Morgan's figures. I shall never forget the kindness and the courtesy with which Sir Alfred Watson treated me throughout this trying week. He, too, gently but very firmly, said he was a busy man and his time must not be taken up by unarranged interviews, and for this I gave him such pledge as it was possible to give. Altogether these two days, July 23rd and 24th, were unpleasant. The one serious result, however, lay in the fear that the luncheon-memorandum had shaken the Prime Minister.

That afternoon I again saw Mr. Bonar Law. What was to be done? He said: "Get a Bill drafted of your proposals, ready to put in the Prime Minister's hand on Saturday." It was clear that further interviews were not only futile but irritating. It was now Thursday afternoon, July 24th. I went straight from Mr. Bonar Law to the House of Lords in search of Mr. Seymour Lloyd, the only draughtsman I knew. He had just left the House. Sir Claud Schuster, to whom I was known, most kindly came to the rescue when I told him my story. "Wait a moment," he said, and in a few minutes he returned to tell me that a draughtsman would meet me at the Athenæum

Club at 10 a.m. the next morning. I was there betimes. No one appeared. Tortured by the clock and the thought of the time-limit, I hung on until 11 a.m., then rushed to Sir Claud Schuster's office in the House of Lords. He was kindness itself. The man he had sent for was out of town.

The Bill had to be ready by the next day. The case seemed desperate. Sir Claud, himself hard pressed with work but fully realising the urgency of my case, said, "Come with me; I must do it myself." He went to his room, and he had just begun the preamble of the Bill when the telephone rang. The draughtsman had returned. In a few minutes Mr. Ram arrived from the Treasury. Sir Claud explained what the task was, and I went with Mr. Ram to the drafting office. In about an hour's time I gave him the outline of what was wanted, and he said he had enough to work on for the morning. "I will send to you at 4.30 this afternoon Mr. Frank Morgan." I told him who Mr. Frank Morgan was—a distinguished Oxford tutor and public examiner who knew every detail in the problem. It was now 1 o'clock on Friday, July 25th. The Bill had to be drafted, printed, and in the hands of the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law at 10 o'clock the next morning. What happened is best told in Mr. Morgan's letter, which reached me at St. Asaph on Sunday morning, July 27th.

"National Club, July 26th, 1919. I write to you now at 9 a.m. to report progress. I went to see Mr. Ram at 4.30 p.m. and left him at 4.30 a.m. this morning, after the draft had gone to the printers. It was not my verbosity that detained

him so long, but the difficulties of the draft. He thought we had complete powers of sale, leasing, etc., and receiving land in mortmain under the Charter and the Welsh Act, so he omitted that clause. All the other clauses are inserted. What I am chiefly nervous about is whether the Bill as drafted will hold water. Mr. Ram did his best, but the Welsh Act was new to him, and he realises fully its very great intricacy and complexity. He said he could have done it probably in a week, but is not overpleased with the result of his labours in such a short time and under such pressure. The Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law received prints of the Bill this morning. I shall return to London on Monday. I hope I have done all that was wanted—at any rate, I have tried."

I have omitted from the letter technical references to clauses in the Bill dealing with powers of sale, leasing and receiving land in mortmain, etc. It may escape the reader's notice that Mr. Ram and Mr. Morgan worked practically through the night (from 4.30 p.m. to 4.30 a.m.) and met again at 11.30 a.m. to be assured that prints of the Bill had been received before 11 a.m. by the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law. The drafting of that Bill was the climax of all the efforts made, and the Church's debt to Mr. Morgan is only exceeded by his own modesty and self-effacement. He brought to bear upon a task of unprecedented complexities, to be completed under a limit of time even more unprecedented, the training and the knowledge that had distinguished him as an examiner in the Honours School at Oxford. Mr. Ram's work was so

excellent—although done under such abnormal conditions and difficulties—that his draft embodied the essential provisions of the Amending Bill as ultimately passed by Parliament. Mr. Ram and Mr. Morgan, hitherto unknown to each other, met as colleagues and parted as friends.

Up to this point the Amendment campaign was like unto a chariot stuck in the mud when those struggling and wrestling to move it mistake their own movements for that of the chariot. At last there was an advance. It was now Monday, July 28th, and Parliament was to adjourn not later than the second week in August. Only a fortnight to do all in! Men of wisdom shook their grave heads. "The thing is ridiculous and quixotic." Why, one Welsh member could sprag your wheel, and twenty and more were waiting to do it! This was true theoretically, no doubt, but it appertains to the nature of theorists to be confounded. For the moment the enterprise was on solid ground.

Monday the 28th was devoted to a minute survey of the Bill, and the few desirable amendments were noted. Lord Robert Cecil kindly discussed the endowment clauses with Mr. Morgan and saw the urgency of the case, but was not enamoured of the Bill. The parliamentary committee of the Governing Body had resolved that the approval of any Amending Bill was to be left to my sole decision. I accepted this great responsibility. Hours, even minutes, were of importance, and a committee, however small, might waste time on minor or even minima points. Moreover, the measure gave what I thought could be justly

demanded. Now another difficulty appeared. Some of our own people were agitated. They had heard murmurings from old protagonists and they did not know exactly where they were. My own view of the Bill was fortified by Mr. Morgan's concise estimate: "I should accept it, and if they gave us glebe also I would say 'thank you.'" Thursday, July 31st, was a full and distracting day. In the morning I spent an hour with the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law. When the Prime Minister came into the room, Mr. Bonar Law said, "George, I have just been telling the Bishop while we were waiting that you are an extraordinary man. You have now at least four big things on hand, any one of which would be more than enough for most leaders; and here you are as cheerful as a boy."

The draft Bill, with some amendments, was agreed upon. Lord Robert Cecil had received a copy of the Bill, and by his invitation I met him that morning to discuss it. He held the view that the Bill prolonged the life of the Commissioners, while without that prolongation the disendowment clauses would be in danger of coming to an end altogether, because the Commissioners would cease to be at the end of the year, and the date of disestablishment would not have been reached by that time, that day being fixed for the end of the war, which was the ratification of the Treaty. Even if all the links in this chain proved sound, it was a method of escaping disendowment which did not seem desirable. One thing was clear. His lordship disapproved of the Bill. I was sorry to differ from such a powerful defender of the

Church, and I told him decisively that I was prepared to accept the Bill. My next interview was with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords. His letter, written that night, gives the result.

"House of Lords, July 31st, 1919. I understand that you would like a word of counsel from me as to the line to be followed in regard to the Welsh Church Bill. The details of the financial problem are rather too complicated for me to follow easily, for I am not conversant with the exact negotiations, nor am I very good at figures. But I have no hesitation in saying that if the amended terms now proposed for the Church are such as to avert (or diminish in large degree) the catastrophe of impoverishment, such as we had dreaded, it would in present circumstances be most unwise were the Church to show itself unyielding. I must not be supposed to have looked into all the details and to express thereon a deliberate judgment. But to me it seems as if the terms suggested are such as ought not to be declined—in view of what the alternative might be.—RANDALL CANTUAR."

The Archbishop knew the whole position in its local and immediate as well as in its more remote possibilities and influences. I left him at 5 o'clock to meet the Prime Minister, by his own wish, and the Welsh Liberal members in the Prime Minister's private room in the House of Commons. They were courteous and on the whole sympathetic, and discussed the Bill in an acquiescing spirit. I stated the case of the churchyards as strongly as I dared, but the task was full of perilous hazard

for one walking on smouldering ashes. I went away musing and marvelling on the power of the man who had wrought this miraculous change. It had been a well-occupied day, and rest that night was welcome. I wrote the following letter to Mr. Bonar Law:

"Athenæum Club, July 31st.

"DEAR MR. BONAR LAW,—I have studied carefully the draft of the Welsh Church Temporalities Bill, and although the Bill does not fulfil all the wishes and hopes I entertained, I am prepared to accept it as it stands. I say this because I am confident that whatever the disappointment of Churchmen in Wales may be, they will gladly welcome an immediate settlement which gives promise of permanency and co-operation for the future."

The rest of my tale can be most clearly and consecutively told in diary form.

On Monday, August 4th, I was back in London for an interview with the Home Secretary. He had already possessed himself of all the details of the Bill, and he knew the danger spots. While I was with him a message came from Mr. Bonar Law that he must see me at once. He had received "an angry letter from Lord Hugh Cecil" which, with his reply, he read to me. A puzzling but not wholly unforeseen fact gradually emerged. The main danger still left was to come not from inveterate opponents but from a group of long-established friends among the Church parliamentary party. "The Welsh Church Temporalities Bill to continue in office the Welsh

Commissioners appointed under the Welsh Church Act, 1914, to postpone the date of disestablishment, and to make further provision with respect to the constitution and temporalities of, and marriages in, the Church in Wales" was the final title of the Government Bill introduced on the 4th and put down for a second reading on August 6th, but known briefly as "the Welsh Church Amending Act."

The Church parliamentary party met on August 5th under the presidency of Lord Robert Cecil. Two Welsh bishops were present. The Bill and its friends were faithfully dealt with. They were reminded that the chairman had resigned his seat in the Cabinet for the sake of the Church in Wales. Pungent things were said about the alleged pledge given by Mr. Bonar Law. The discussion was ragged and painful, and finally extorted from me the frank statement that "if the Bill was thrown out the Welsh Church would still be left in the firing-line, and I told the meeting that whatever happened the Welsh Church must not be used as a pawn in a political gamble." The meeting ended concisely but not cordially. That evening Mr. Bonar Law informed me that there must be a unanimous vote in favour of the Bill from all the Welsh bishops and from the special *ad hoc* committee of the Church in Wales before the second reading. The next morning at 11 a.m. this committee, at which the Welsh bishops were present, assembled, and an anxious and critical hour was spent. The Bishop of Bangor, with his usual chivalry, clung to the leadership of Lord Robert Cecil, but yielded to the appeal made to

him. Thus the required acceptance was obtained. At 12 o'clock a meeting of the Church Defence Committee (Sir Arthur Boscawen was in the chair) was held. Lord Hugh Cecil did not approve of the Bill, and criticised the Government, and especially Mr. Bonar Law, with severity. It was largely due to the chairman that the resolution passed was mild. Thus the requisite approvals had been obtained, and at 6 p.m. on August 6th the second reading of the Bill was moved in the House of Commons.

It was delightful—from that excellent point of detachment, the gallery of the House—to gaze upon and listen to the actors below. What were the feelings of the Welsh disestablishers and their party? The Act of 1914 had given them what for forty years they had striven to obtain. The thought of touching this beautiful work of art was hateful, and the first impulse of the Welsh party was to resist any attempt to tamper with it. But there were forebodings and misgivings. First of all, there was a Unionist majority. The disestablishment champions in Wales and England had gone under in the election, and—worse than all—their dear friends the Irish members had disappeared. They feared to resist because the party of total repeal would step in and shatter their idol. The position was indeed distressing and almost wrung sympathy from their opponents. The Home Secretary, Mr. Shortt, moved the second reading of the Bill in a clear and statesmanlike speech, upon which he was complimented by Lord Hugh Cecil. He gave a lucid explanation of the fact that the Welsh County Councils would

be unable to discharge the liabilities which the Act imposed upon them, and therefore it was necessary that £1,000,000 must be granted from the Treasury to help the Welsh County Councils out of this dilemma. The speech was received with what Mr. Shortt called "somewhat jeering laughter" from the group of opposing Unionists. The opposition to the Bill came from this group, but that opposition never touched the Bill, and was concentrated upon a fierce and unfair attack upon Mr. Bonar Law.

Lord Hugh Cecil, who followed the Home Secretary, formulated the real and repeated gravamen of the opposition. "The Government are deeply pledged to the position that disendowment is confiscation. The Leader of the House gave a promise on April 21st, 1914, that 'if a Unionist Government is returned to power I am sure that one of the first things that Government will do will be to restore to the Church in Wales the funds of which you have deprived her.' Though this Government absolutely depends on Unionist support, nevertheless that pledge has wholly ceased to be binding, and I am rather inclined to think that my right hon. friend's explanation would qualify him for a place in Pascal's *Provincial Letters* amongst those who found excuses." The speech was devoted to developing this charge. "This Bill will mark one stage further down in the reputation of public men," and other statements of a like kind concluded Lord Hugh Cecil's speech. "Sold by the Unionist leaders," was the form in which the charge was summarised by Mr. Ormsby Gore, who described the Bill "as

one of the most disgraceful Bills ever introduced into Parliament." Lord Robert Cecil, winding up the debate, repeated the accusation of the broken pledge, and included two other statements that in the interests of an accurate record must be dealt with. To the first charge, that of the broken pledge, a Labour member from Wales (Mr. T. Griffiths) gave a simple answer. "No pledge has been broken as far as he (Mr. Bonar Law) is concerned until such time as he becomes the Prime Minister of a Unionist Government." The second statement ran thus: "It is evident that they (the Welsh Church party) were told that unless they agreed to this Bill in the first place they would get no Bill at all, and in the second place they would not get lapsed interests. Lastly, I should like to know what they were informed as to the effect of the Tithe Act?"

I was solely responsible—it is unfortunately necessary to repeat this—for accepting the Bill, and the decision I came to was made long before the points raised by Lord Robert Cecil were made, and—as Mr. Bonar Law said—Lord Robert Cecil "was quite wrong. They (the Church party) were never told anything of the kind."

Finally, Lord Robert recalled the Memorial—already alluded to—which he and others presented to the Government. "Your memorialists ask that the Welsh Church should be fully reimbursed for the loss of the endowments." Those awaiting the ancient endowments of the Church were to receive them. But the Church was to be compensated out of the National Treasury. The proposal always seemed to me to endorse the principle

of disendowment and to invite the worst evils of State dependence. I do not think "the effect of the Tithe Act" was ever mentioned to me by the Prime Minister or by Mr. Bonar Law; nor had that Act, or the opinions of the law officers on lapsed interests, any influence on the decision that was taken. In the House of Commons the speeches of the opposing group were an indictment not of the Bill but of Mr. Bonar Law. The House divided on the second reading—the ayes 182, the noes 37. The minority included 30 Unionists, 3 Welsh Radicals, 2 Coalition Unionists, and 2 Labour members. The Tellers against the Bill were Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Ormsby Gore.

An Amendment of great importance and value was carried in Committee which provided that "the Welsh Commissioners shall pay interest on any amount unpaid at the rate of £5½ per cent. per annum until such payment." If the Welsh Commissioners had only been compelled to pay £3½ per cent. on any part of the commutation capital which they had not paid, it is obvious that payment might and undoubtedly would have been delayed to the very great loss of the Church, added to which there would have been grievous uncertainty and delay. To Mr. Mount, who moved and secured the passing of this amendment, the Church in Wales is a grateful debtor. It is to Mr. Mount that we owe the payment in full of the commutation capital within something like a reasonable time.

On August 14th the second reading of the Bill was moved in the House of Lords by Lord Peel in a clear and businesslike speech. Why and to

whom was the grant of £1,000,000 made? The Welsh Commissioners who were appointed to administer the Act had to pay £3,400,000 to the Representative Body of the Church in Wales. Owing to the difficulties of the war, the income taken over from the disendowed Church by the Welsh Commissioners only enabled them to borrow £2,500,000 towards the payment of the £3,400,000 due from them under the Act of 1914, to the Representative Body of the Church. The Commissioners were therefore short of £1,250,000 to meet their liabilities to the Church. Hence the grant of £1,000,000 from the Treasury was the only way out of an "impasse."

The £250,000 still needed was found by what Lord Peel called a "polite fiction." The Treasury had paid half the rates upon the tithe when attached to the benefices, and for the purposes of this Act the Treasury, with unaccustomed chivalry, feigned the continuance of that attachment, and on the basis of that security the Welsh Commissioners were enabled to borrow the extra £250,000. Lord Salisbury dramatically described this arrangement as "an elaborate financial juggle under which the Welsh County Councils are pulled out of a financial hole and the Church gets not its rights but half its rights that it would have obtained even if there had been no Bill at all." A more prosaic presentation of this proposal came from Lord Crewe, who thought His Majesty's Government were to be applauded for having found a figure which in their judgment represented "absolute fairness—no extra profit on one side, and no undue loss on the other."

A gallant and a welcome last effort to save the churchyards was made by Lord Dynevor and earnestly supported by the Primate and by Lord Selborne. There had been—as Lord Clwyd pointed out—negotiations. I have already mentioned the interview which, at the request of the Prime Minister and in his presence, I had with the Welsh members. Lord Salisbury—most sympathetically do I agree with him—said, "I profoundly loathe the word 'negotiations' now; all sorts of things are given away in 'negotiations.'" Unfortunately on one hand, and compulsorily on the other, I was constrained to conduct all the negotiations relating to this Bill single-handed. I did my best, and "my best" was I often feared inadequate. The wound was still open and inflammation always threatening. I thought I had gone far enough. The sequel supplied a striking proof that the Welsh Radical members did not represent the Welsh people. The great majority of the local bodies to whom the Act transferred the ancient churchyards have declined, in spite of repeated pressure from the Government, to accept the transfer. Meanwhile, these ancient churchyards are derelict, "the wild beasts of the field are there, and the wild boar out of the wood doth waste it."

Lord Phillimore, in moving the repeal of the Convocation clause in the Act of 1914, raised practical points of real importance. The clause might have been "put in the Act out of pure arrogance or *outre cuidance*." It was "unconstitutional," if anything Parliament determines can be "unconstitutional." At any rate, there

was no precedent for reconstituting Convocation by Parliament against the wish of Convocation. Points of more immediate concern were the presence in Convocation of members from the disestablished Church in Wales, the relation of the Church in Wales to the Province of Canterbury, and the evitable or inevitable formation of a separate province for Wales. The amendment moved by Lord Phillimore was finally not adopted. The "Welsh Church (Temporalities) Act," or in its familiar name "The Amending Act," became law on August 19th, 1919. So ended a controversy involving great principles.

And now the British Church, the first Christian Church in this island, was severed from the State of England with which it had been entwined for more than ten centuries. The crude hands that first essayed the task of unravelling and of disentangling were conscientiously reckless of the fate or even of the life of the Church. Secularised endowments, cathedrals turned into music-halls, alienated churchyards, clergy to be pensioned and turned adrift, the use of the churches only granted if Protestant, every bond of continuity, authority and order to be hacked through—these were the ideals that inspired the imagination of the patriarchs of disestablishment. They failed, and their failure is the sufficient defence for the resistance of the Church defender. That resistance brought not only success but enlightenment. Many of the ablest and best-equipped men in England had their attention drawn to the principles at stake. It was made clear to the most Erastian mind that establishment is not of the

essence of the Church, and that in many cases it was doubtful whether it was for the well-being of the Church. Tied up to the State, the Church unconsciously developed a certain political bias. The temptation to resist movements popular and beneficial in their aims, but apparently threatening to the *status quo*, was great. The category of corroborative instances is large. There was a twin danger. A dignified person of great possessions, seeking to encourage and to glorify, said to me, "We regard Church defence as deserving all our support because Church defenders are really bulwarks of our own position."

It would be unjust to ignore the fact that among the disestablishment party were many men in Wales who were devoted workers in promoting the moral and spiritual well-being of their countrymen. In the ephemeral contests of this long contention many regrettable things were said and done. On the other hand, self-sacrifice and devotion to principle were not limited to one side, and to-day there are few Churchmen in Wales who would not confess with candour their unwillingness to return to the old conditions. Let the truth be told. They view with thankfulness the quickened interest which the laity take in the spiritual work of the Church, and they are conscious that in the good providence of God they have been called upon to work under conditions which give them fresh inspiration and a larger measure of wholesome independence and freedom, and they welcome and with all their hearts desire to promote a growing spirit of friendship and fellowship in the service of their common Master.

The Amending Act did something to mitigate and to readjust, but it left the Church an impoverished Church by the loss of her ancient endowments and bereft of her rightful share in the increasing resources of the Ecclesiastical Commission and of the aid of the Bounty Office. But there was the compensation of a permanent and peaceful settlement. This the Church in Wales owes to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and to the leader of the Unionist party, Mr. Bonar Law. Entirely free from the acerbity and narrowness of the Welsh Calvinist, Mr. Lloyd George was distinguished from his Welsh colleagues not only by his commanding ability but by a certain chivalry and generosity. Of Mr. Bonar Law I speak with reverence and gratitude. He was a sad man, working in the shadow of bitter bereavements, but he toiled on with magnificent courage, and it was an honour I value much to have known a man of such unselfishness and devotion to high ideals.

CHAPTER XV

THE PROVINCE OF WALES

THE Welsh Church Act and an Act contingently postponing for one year its operation were passed on September 18th, 1914. In December of that year the Church in Wales met in Council and appointed a Joint Committee "to take such steps in matters of business as they considered necessary under the Welsh Church Act." That Committee, under the guidance of Mr. Justice Sankey, worked on from January, 1915, until October, 1917. They quickly realised the magnitude and the complexity of the task committed to their care and judgment. The Welsh problem was perplexing from the absence of any precedent. The Irish Church, united to the State Church in England by Act of Parliament, was disunited by the same agency, and geographically the task was rendered easier by the estranging Channel. Difficult and unforeseen questions were in the first instance entrusted to sub-committees, who were able to call in the aid of experts from the two Universities. The two and a half years were spent upon the framing of the Constitution of the Governing Body and the Representative Body; the first was to be elected triennially and to consist of 502 members, the clergy of each diocese to elect 25 clerical and the laity 50 lay members.

ARCHBISHOP OF WALES, 1920.

For the Representative Body, each diocese was to elect eight lay and four clerical members; the Archbishop and the diocesan Bishops are ex-officio. There are also 15 co-opted and 10 nominated members, making a total of 103 members. The Governing Body is the supreme legislative body in the Church in Wales. The functions of the Representative Body are purely financial and administrative. A Convention, representing the whole Church, was summoned to meet at Cardiff in October, 1917, and Mr. Justice Sankey announced that the resolution before them was that "The Convention approves the principle of the Scheme for the Representative Body and the Governing Body for the Church in Wales which has been circulated to the members, and resolves to go into Committee to discuss the details thereof." Four strenuous days were spent in discussing the Scheme which the members had the advantage of studying beforehand. Mr. Justice Sankey and Lord Justice Bankes, who spoke first, struck a note of high purpose and responsibility, eagerly taken up and steadily maintained throughout. And so it was that the Convention set sail on a smooth and shining sea. There were moments when a sudden breeze broke the calm, and eager waves rose and revealed perilous rocks. But there were strong arms ready to keep us clear of all dangers. The Scheme was approved after searching criticism. The Scheme was mainly the creation of Mr. Justice Sankey, who had a ready helper in Lord Justice Bankes and a brilliant critic in Lord Justice Atkin. All the time that Mr. Justice Sankey was working on the Scheme

he was Chairman of the Aliens Advisory Committee, one of the most important, as well as the most anxious, of the Committees in the Great War. He toiled greatly, and the Scheme was the result of a comparison and study of every constitution of a disestablished Church. Ten years have discovered no flaws. The transition from the old to the new order was automatic; the worshippers in the Church in Wales were conscious of no change in the ministrations of the Church—not a church or mission-room closed, not a single service dropped. There was neither jar nor friction nor outcry, and when we recall all that was constructed we are reminded of Solomon's temple: "the house when it was in building was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building." For the man who made this possible, eulogies would be unwelcome and inadequate. The name and the work of Mr. Justice Sankey will last as long as the Church in Wales endures.

Forthwith the future under new conditions had to be faced. The Church in Wales, the continuity of her ministry and sacraments unbroken, was independent—as independent as she was before Augustine came, or before the Norman Conqueror extorted from her reluctant submissions. She was cut off from the State Church in England and from its convocations with no more official share in its spiritual responsibilities than an Indian or Australian province. Disestablishment and disendowment were a shock if not a surprise, but the severance of the deeper ties that for six

centuries had linked together the two Churches was an unimagined consequence. Every cord was snapped, and as far as England was concerned the Church in Wales was sent adrift on an uncharted ocean to appear suddenly like the island of old, " without a root, a guide or a direction." Hard facts, but no doubt all for the best !

The moment the idea of " Wales a Province " was mooted, a new and utterly unexpected power appeared. Disunited Wales may often have been, but now the nation arose and thronging voices of approval came from far and wide. It was the thought of Wales " a nation " that thrilled her people. The same thought in a more restricted sense had given the Investiture its interest and influence. Bishop Creighton said that the two forces which are most powerful in moulding the modern world are nationality and liberty.

The enthronement of the first Archbishop of Wales on June 1st, 1920, in the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph was an event without precedent in Wales and without record of a similar ceremony in the two English Provinces. More than all that, Wales made it a national festival. Among the two thousand crowded into that ancient cathedral were the men who shaped the life and character of Wales. The service, drawn up under the vigilant eye of Dr. Green, now Bishop of Monmouth, began with the Old Hundredth (sung to Kethe's tune). The people standing said the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed after the Bidding Prayer. Then followed the sermon by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. A luminous recital of " the strangely chequered

history of the earliest Church in Wales wrought out in storm and sunshine, like the swathing clouds which give mystery as well as grandeur to the scene,

> 'Where Snowdon night by night
> Receives the confidences of lonely stars,' "

prefaced the record of the later centuries. "We are wholly uncontroversial in this our service of inauguration and resolve and hope." The sermon was an inspiring preface to all that followed.

The sermon ended, the Archbishop took his seat on the north side of the Sanctuary. Then the Deed of the Primate reciting and confirming his Act sanctioning the creation of the Province of Wales was read by the Bishop of London. The four remaining documents—the Certificate of Consecration, the Notarial Act recording the election of the Archbishop, the Certificate of Acclamation by the Governing Body of the Church, the Mandate of the Diocesan Bishops of Wales for the enthronement—were duly read, and their quaint and archaic wording gave them an appropriate significance.

All was now ready for the actual Enthronement. The Archbishop-elect, wearing his cope, proceeded to the midst of the Sanctuary, where he "stood facing the Congregation and made in an audible voice the oath that he would observe the Constitution and Laws and approved customs of the Church in Wales and to the utmost of his knowledge and power would maintain and defend the rights and liberties of the Governing Body thereof." The oath was made on the original copy (1567) in block letter of William Salesbury's

THE PALACE, ST. ASAPH.

New Testament in Welsh. The Primate then taking the Archbishop-elect by his right hand placed him in the Archiepiscopal Throne and delivered to him the Archiepiscopal Cross. The Anthem "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace," was sung, and worthily sung, by the choirs of Bangor and St. Asaph Cathedrals. The Archbishop of Wales, sitting in his Throne, put on his Mitre and received the professions of his Suffragans, who severally kneeling before him made their oath of due obedience in the following form:

"I do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Wales and to his successors. So help me God through Jesus Christ."

The Archbishop then left his throne and ascended to the front of the Altar, followed by his Suffragans, who stood behind him there for the remainder of the service.

The service within the cathedral concluded with the singing of the Litany and the Blessing pronounced by the Archbishop of Wales. The recessional hymn was sung to the now famous tune of Hyfrydol.

The scene changes, but the service was not ended. The Presentation by the Primate to the people of their Archbishop was now to be made. The choirs, surpliced clergy, the bishops and archbishops, leaving the cathedral by the west door, moved in procession down the city hill, and passing through the palace took their places on a dais at the foot of the lawn which slopes down from the cathedral. Meanwhile, the garden

entrances near the cathedral and at the top of the garden were thrown open and the congregation from within the cathedral, increased by thousands outside, filled the lawn to the number of six or seven thousand. All could see and hear. In front of the dais were seated H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught, on his right the Lord-Lieutenant of Flintshire, Mr. Henry Gladstone, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, on his left. When the archbishops and bishops and their chaplains had reached the dais the Primate, who first addressed the assembly, said that it was his high privilege to present to them the Archbishop of this Province of Wales. The Archbishop of York associated himself with the words spoken by the Primate. The Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. D'Arcy) spoke as the representative of the Church of Ireland—"they had watched with intensest interest the way in which the Church in Wales had solved its problems." The Bishop of St. Davids and the Archbishop of Wales both spoke in Welsh and English. The whole assembly joined in the Lord's Prayer, and the Benediction was pronounced by the Archbishop. The Service of Presentation concluded with the singing of the Welsh National Anthem. At the luncheon which shortly followed in a marquee there were over 1,000 present. Prince Arthur of Connaught, responding to the toast of the Royal Family, was received with great enthusiasm. He said "he regarded it as a peculiar honour to have been deputed by H.M. the King to represent him at this unique and historic occasion; he only wished that their own Prince could have been

with them that day, but, as they knew, he was at the other end of the world." The toast of the Archbishop of Wales was proposed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, who rejoiced that a controversy which had embittered Welsh life for generations was now ended, not by victory but by appeasement, and that on the hearthstone concord is always better than conquest. The assembly broke up with the kindly words spoken by the Primate, who said that the day's proceedings, literally without precedent, had been splendid in every detail.

Ceremonies and formalities were finished, and now a future of practical and insistent problems demanded the service and the sacrifice of every Churchman and Churchwoman in the Province. The first in order, but not in importance, was finance. The Amending Act, 1919, for which the Church is indebted to Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Lloyd George, left the Church independent if poor, and free from the peril of a proposal that had been made by English Churchmen, that the endowments of the Welsh Church should be handed over to those who were waiting for them, while the Church was to be recompensed by an annual grant from the National Treasury. An appeal for £1,000,000 was issued; already an appeal for £2,000,000 from the National Assembly, signed by two archbishops, had gone forth, and it was obvious that the Church in Wales could not hope for much support from England, and this proved to be so. Naturally their own claims would come first. One illustration will suffice. When preaching for the Welsh fund in an English cathedral, as I was going

to the pulpit the congregation were informed that the offertory must be devoted to their own urgent needs, but offertory bags would be held in the porch for those who desired to help the Church in Wales. What happened in the porch I never asked. The incident was, however, a useful lesson in self-reliance. Financially the Church was left by the Act with its modern endowments dating from 1662 (a mere fraction) and the commutation capital. Mainly by the generosity of Churchmen in Wales, a fund of £709,000 was raised. An annual levy of £45,000 for provincial purposes was readily agreed upon. With these resources two new bishoprics have been created, each with an income of £2,000 a year and a house. £9,000 a year is given in scholarships for ordinands. A Dilapidation Scheme and a Pension Scheme have been established. In the Dilapidation Scheme the incumbent's contribution is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the income of his benefice. Practically all the parsonage houses have been put in repair and greatly improved. The assigned stipend for incumbents in 1921 was £282 a year. Last year (1926), after a steady increase, it reached £335 a year. The stipulated income for curates is £200. The incumbent's income reaches him with unfailing regularity on each quarter day. The annual levy of £45,000 a year, the first charge on the resources of every parish—is paid punctually, without difficulty but not without sacrifice. There has been no falling off in the contributions to the various diocesan and parochial objects, and the contributions from the Province to overseas missionary work has steadily

increased and is now over £20,000 a year. The self-sacrifice with which these contributions have been made in the Province is only equalled by the care and the wisdom of the distinguished men who have devoted a wealth of time and thought to their administration.

In an effort to indicate the consequences of the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Church in Wales and to form an estimate of the gains and losses, it will be seen that disendowment, although naturally attracting public attention, was not the heaviest blow that befell the Church. First in the category of gains must be placed the weakening if not the disappearance of sectarian bitterness. No demonstrable grievance, no inequalities "by law established," remained to inflame the controversies of the day. The Church itself is not in perpetual alliance with any political party or class; her hopes and her work must rest upon the people. This freedom will not come at once, but its growth is inevitable. In patronage favouritism cannot easily be alleged when the body that appoints is representative. The new spirit of fellowship and co-operation has done something to create a desire for greater union. If there is to be unity amongst us it must be the expression of a spiritual unity, of an inward reconciliation. In Wales the subject of reunion has been re-approached with a larger conception of its greatness and a deeper consideration of its difficulties. This change, it may be fairly said, is largely the result of the changed conditions in Wales. The experience of nine years is too short a period to do more than to indicate tendencies.

So far, many of the indications are on the side of gain. "Would you go back to the old conditions?" is a question frequently addressed to Welsh Churchmen. "No," is the answer generally given, but it must not be given without serious reservations.

In the new condition of things three salient changes present themselves. The Welsh bishops are no longer members of the House of Lords. This exclusion was the most conspicuous, the most inevitable, and altogether the least important. The Welsh bishops and clergy were no longer members of the Convocation of Canterbury, although convocation was in Bishop Stubbs' words "a spiritual assembly, it is intimately bound up with the State Church," and the admission to its deliberations of the representatives of a Church entirely free from any connection with the State might prove embarrassing. Hitherto the Welsh bishops had been present and took part in the private meetings of the bishops of the two English Provinces on grave questions touching the spiritual welfare of the whole Church. It soon became apparent that we were there by courtesy and not by right. Nothing could be more tender or considerate than the words in which this fact was made known to me by the Primate. For myself, much as we all valued these private meetings I was not prepared to attend them as a guest and not as a member. I made and make no complaint, but I am not unconscious of what this exclusion means at the present time to the Church in Wales, and may conceivably in future mean to the Church in England. The exclusion

from Convocation is an irreparable loss to the clergy and the bishops in Wales. The representatives of the Welsh Church in former times in the Lower House of Convocation have expressed to me the loss they have felt in their exclusion from an assembly in which they met and heard great scholars discussing questions vitally affecting the whole Church. The friendships formed there, and the interchange of ideas find no adequate compensation in the concentration of their energies and thoughts upon their own special sphere of work. This is equally true of the Upper House of Convocation. What did it matter if occasionally the unchastened arrogance of the Saxon saw in his brother "only a Welsh bishop"? Was it not an education and enlightenment to hear the real problems of the Church discussed by the most eminent men in the Anglican communion with the freedom that was only possible in a gathering that was wholly private? Perhaps the senior diocesan bishop in England and Wales may state his own feeling and experience. "One of the great privileges of his life was to meet on equal terms his English brethren, and to be honoured by their friendship and strengthened by their counsel. To-day he does not even know by sight many of his younger brethren. He can still appreciate the rare but kindly recognition of his own contemporaries, of whom only one survives from the last century."

The dismemberment of the Church of England has for the Church in Wales severed the arteries through which the life of that Church pulsed. Time and experience confirm the forecast that the dis-

establishment clauses—not disestablishment itself, but the process—in the Welsh Act have proved to have an importance which makes the disendowment proposals seem almost insignificant by comparison. The expulsion of the Welsh clergy from Convocation illustrates the difficulty of dealing with the civil aspect of the Establishment without affecting the spiritual concerns of the Church. The framers of the Welsh Act, in their desire to sever every vestige of connection between the State and the Church in Wales, have done much—how much time will show—to destroy a unity which derived neither its origin nor its sanction from any such connection. It may be that, like Horace's harpist, I "keep blundering on the same note," but from the very beginning I dreaded loss of unity more than loss of endowments. It must be granted that the close union of the Church in Wales with the Church in England involved for the former the sacrifice of some idiosyncracies and the submission to the influence and guidance of the larger body. It must also be granted with equal readiness and with thankfulness that for the present the severance has been marked in the smaller body by an intense desire to live and grow, by a passionate belief that the amputated part has in it the potentiality of an independent life, and by a noble effort to repair and obliterate the damage inflicted upon the organic structure of the Church in its spiritual aspect. But beyond and above all these admissions, the whole drift and direction of the reconstructive thought of modern times seem to me to fortify the conclusion that a backward

step was taken. It was a lapse from a national to a racial ideal, from the idea of the community to the demands of the individual. Thirty years ago Lord Salisbury saw in "the idea of the Federation of Europe the only way that will enable civilisation to protect itself from deplorable ravages," and Mr. Gladstone spoke of "the sound and sacred principle that Christendom is formed of nations that are united to one another in the bonds of right without distinction of great and small, with an absolute equality between them." The progress of the missionary work of the Church depends, and always will depend, upon the idea of the unity for which our Lord prayed, and for which His Church labours to-day. Inspired by that idea the Church in this land is striving to obey the World Call.

These Memories may end with the hope and prayer that no shadow of weakening may fall upon the union that has bound together the Church in Wales and the Church in England for more than a thousand years.

APPENDIX I

CHARTER ROLL (CHANCERY), 29 EDWARD I., M. 9, No. 36

[Translation]

7 *February* 29 *Edward I.* [*A.D.* 1300–1]

For Edward the King's Son.

THE KING to his Archbishops, etc., Greeting. Know ye that we have given, granted and by this our Charter confirmed to our most dear son Edward all our lands of Northwales, Angleseye and Hope, with all our lands and tenements being within the four cantreds, and also all our lands of Westwales and Southwales, to wit the county of Kermerdyn and of Kaerdigan, the castles and manors of Haverford and of Buelt, all the lands and tenements which were of Reece ab Mereduk and which are in our hands by forfeiture of the same Reece, together with all other our lands and tenements in those parts being in our hands on the day of the making of the present Charter, except the castle and vill of Monte Gomeri, with appurtenances, which we have assigned to our most dear consort Margaret Queen of England in dower. We give also and grant to our same son all our County of Chester, together with our manors of Maclesfeld and Overton, and all our lands of Mailor Seisnek, with all their appurtenances, to have and to hold with the castles, vills, manors, liberties, customs, homages, services, rents, knight's fees, advowsons of churches, escheats, mines, wreck of the sea, and all other things pertaining to the abovesaid lands and tenements by whatever name they are known to our aforementioned son and his heirs Kings of England for ever as wholly and fully as we held those lands and tenements with all their appurtenances, saving

to our aforenamed consort the castle and vill of Monte Gomeri, with appurtenances, which we have assigned to her in dower as is aforesaid doing to us for the counties and lands and tenements abovesaid such service as it is found we did to the Lord Henry of famous memory, King of England, our father, for the counties and contreds aforesaid while we held them by grant of our same father. Wherefore we will and firmly order that our aforesaid son and his heirs, Kings of England for ever, shall have and hold all the aforesaid lands tenements with the aforesaid counties together with castles, vills, manors, liberties, customs, homages, services, rents, knight's fees, advowsons of churches, escheats, mines, wreck of the sea, and all other things pertaining to the abovesaid lands and tenements by whatsoever name they may be known, as wholly and fully as we held those lands and tenements with all their appurtenances, saving to our consort aforementioned the castle and vill of Monte Gomeri, with appurtenances, which we have assigned to her in dower, doing to us for the counties and lands and tenements abovesaid such service as it is found we did to the Lord Henry of famous memory, formerly King of England, our father, for the counties and contreds aforesaid, while we held them of the grant of our same father as is aforesaid, these being witnesses: the Venerable Fathers R. Archbishop of Canterbury, J. Bishop of Lincoln, S. Bishop of Salisbury, J. Bishop of Norwich, W. Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, J. Bishop of Carlisle, John de Warren Earl of Surrey, Roger Le Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England, Ralph Monhermer Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Guy de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick and Richard Earl of Arundel, John de Britannia, Reginald de Grey, John de St. John, John de Hastings, and others.

Given by our hand at Netleham on the 7th day of February.

APPENDIX II

THE following quotations are from *Fonts and Font Covers*, by Francis Bond :

Page 43.—The category of block Fonts includes several archaic Fonts, indeterminate in form, neither circular nor square not polygonal. It includes Fonts formed by sinking a hollow in a trunk or root of a tree, as in that found near Dinas Mawddwy.

Pages 60–61.—In time there seems to have grown up a certain scruple about allowing the drippings from the child's head or from its body to return into the hallowed water contained in the bowl of the Font. To prevent this, alternative expedients were adopted. Usually a partition of stone or lead was inserted inside the bowl of the Font, one division was filled with hallowed water, over which the child to be baptised was held so that the drippings might pass into the dry half of the bowl from which they were carried away by a drain.

Sometimes the large and small bowl were hollowed out of the same block, as at Chirens (Isère), and in the block Font found in a bog near Dinas Mawddwy and preserved at Mostyn Hall.

The stone Font at Llanymawddwy is an interesting specimen. An expert, judging from the photograph, suggested a date about 1180 to 1220. There is a Font at Shere in Surrey which has the upper border scalloped precisely in the same manner as the one at Llanymawddwy.

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